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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

MUSIQUE MESURÉE IN THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

by



ALBERT LA FRANCE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend  
to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a  
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ments for the degree of Master of Music.



## ABSTRACT

The first extensive study of vers mesurés and musique mesurée was undertaken by D. P. Walker in 1940. The object of this study is to present to the reader a synoptic view of musique mesurée in the light of more recent research. Musique mesurée is emphasized; vers mesurés are discussed only to the extent that they lead to a better understanding of musique mesurée.

As a result of new discoveries several inaccuracies have been corrected and some conjectural questions have been answered.

In the first chapter a review of the development of the French chanson and air de cour is presented. This is followed by a discussion of Baïf, the founder of the first French Academy, and La Pléiade. The influences of the predecessors of vers et musique mesurés are then examined.

The next chapter draws the historical context in which musique mesurée originated and developed--the Académie de poésie et de musique--and introduces the musicians who were associated with Baïf's movement.

The humanistic theories on which musique mesurée is based are then exposed.

In examining some of Claude Le Jeune's and Jacques Mauduit's musique mesurée it is shown how the principles of musique mesurée were applied by various composers of the Renaissance.



The final chapter examines the influences of musique mesurée in France, Italy, and in England. The thesis concludes with a discourse on the decline and the demise of musique mesurée.



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## INTRODUCTION

Some four hundred years ago, in November of 1570, the Académie de poésie et de musique, founded by Jean-Antoine de Baïf and Thibault de Courville received Royal approval from King Charles IX of France. It was in this Academy, during the French Renaissance, that the most original and most systematic attempt was made to write poetry and music in the supposed manner of the ancient Greeks. Circumventing the traditional practices of French versification which rested on the principles of syllable count and rhymes established over a period of five centuries, Baïf, a French poet, thought it possible to versify in French by using quantitative meters similar to those of the Greek and Latin languages. Furthermore, by setting to music these measured verses in the ancient style--vers mesurés à l'antique--the rhythm of which would strictly observe the longs and shorts of the text--musique mesurée à l'antique<sup>1</sup>--Baïf and de Courville, a French musician, were convinced that they would achieve a practice closer to that of the ancients. Perhaps their musique mesurée would at last be capable of producing those "wondrous effects" which the ancients had been able to obtain through the close binding together of poetry and music.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century many scholars and historians have referred to vers mesurés and musique mesurée in

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<sup>1</sup>Throughout this study the terms vers mesurés à l'antique and musique mesurée à l'antique will be reduced to vers mesurés and musique mesurée.



their writings, but relatively few have studied the subject in detail. Mathieu Augé-Chiquet and Paul-Marie Masson have pioneered in this endeavor. Their interest in this subject may have been stimulated by the work of Henry Expert who was the first in our century not only to re-edit, but to perform, with his Chanterie de la Renaissance, many of Le Jeune's and Mauduit's Chansonnettes and Pseaumes en vers mesurez. In 1940, D. P. Walker investigated the subject anew. His purpose was to complete, and at times, to correct the work of his predecessors. He felt that although their work was excellent and most helpful in his research, "on the musical side there were some large gaps." Walker's dissertation undoubtedly was, and perhaps is still today, the most extensive study on vers et musique mesurés. However, this work has not been published, with the exception of several reworked segments which have appeared as articles in periodicals. In 1947, Frances A. Yates treated the subject of vers et musique mesurés with clarity and precision, though necessarily in a succinct and cursory manner since it was examined with reference to, and in the context of the sixteenth-century French Academies. This limitation, however, does not detract from an otherwise excellent study on the French Academies of the sixteenth century, particularly of Baïf's Académie de poésie et de musique where musique mesurée was nurtured.

In the last twenty-five years vers et musique mesurés have been mentioned in scholarly works and articles on it have been published, but no one has yet attempted a major work of synthesis.



The purpose of this study is to present to the reader a clear, comprehensive and up-dated view of what musique mesurée<sup>1</sup> was, how it originated and developed, and what have been the consequences of its brief existence.

To review the general background of musique mesurée and to trace its origins (Chapter I) will assist in understanding it, but obviously this is not sufficient. An inquiry into the immediate circumstances and environment in which it developed (Chapter II), a general view of the theories on which it is based (Chapter III), and a close examination of some of the music itself (Chapter IV) will all contribute toward a sound understanding of this outstanding humanistic musical endeavor of the French Renaissance.

It will also be of value to estimate the influence of these efforts on the progress of music (Chapter V), and finally to divine the reasons why musique mesurée did not endure as a musical style.

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<sup>1</sup>The emphasis will be on musique mesurée. Vers mesurés will be discussed only to the extent that they help to understand musique mesurée.



## CHAPTER I

### THE ORIGINS OF VERS ET MUSIQUE MESURÉS

Secular vocal music in France during the sixteenth-century Renaissance was governed by two guiding factors, humanism and the rapport between poetry and music. These two elements had previously developed quite independently from one another, but in the sixteenth century humanism began to influence both poetry and music. Moreover, it was mainly because of humanistic ideas that, in the second half of the century, a closer union between poetry and music was sought. During the French Renaissance musique mesurée stood out not only as a landmark of this influence but it could perhaps be considered as the highpoint in the union of poetry and music under humanistic influence.

Since musique mesurée manifested itself in the context of French secular vocal music it is appropriate to review briefly the evolution of the French chanson with respect to the union of poetry and music.

#### Historical Background

By the turn of the sixteenth century the French chanson had become internationally known and accepted throughout the Continent. This polyphonic chanson was written in the elaborate contrapuntal style inherited from the fifteenth century and based on the early literary forms of the rhétoriqueurs: rondeaux, ballades, and virelais. Around 1530 two stylistic currents began to appear. The



first was represented by what could be termed the "chanson polyphonique," for it was but a continuing evolution of the early polyphonic chanson. A new generation of composers was now setting to music new poetic forms such as épigrammes, dizains, and huitains. These freer literary forms, introduced mainly by Clément Marot and Mellin de Saint-Gelais, supplanted the fixed forms of the rhétoriqueurs, and freed polyphony from its subservience to the forms of the text.

In short, in freeing itself from the age-long servitude to poetic structure, the French chanson did not submit to any kind of arbitrary form. Details of the form vary according to circumstances, though in the main the chansons follow certain general schemes of which the more common may be roughly set out as follows: AA (different text) BCC (same text).<sup>1</sup>

Composers also tended to break away from the complexities of Flemish counterpoint and to cultivate a simpler art designed to match the light-hearted spirit of the poetic text. Generally written for four voices in a mixture of polyphonic and homophonic styles the chanson at this time maintained an essentially modest and intimate character.

The second stylistic current had its origins in the popular folk art, that is to say, the chanson populaire, the chanson à danser and the vaudeville. These popular forms had so far been considered

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<sup>1</sup>Charles van der Borren, "The French Chanson," in New Oxford History of Music, ed. by Gerald Abraham (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 3.



by learned musicians as inferior means of expression. Before 1500, composers had scarcely made any effort to grasp the light-hearted spirit of the popular chanson, though they had borrowed their themes to support their polyphonic structures. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, a rapprochement was effected between "learned art" and "folk art," by composers such as Claudin de Sermisy and Clément Janequin. The outcome of this was a special type of chanson referred to today as the chanson parisienne.<sup>1</sup>

After 1530, this type of chanson evolved into the second stylistic current with which we are concerned. It grew quite independently from the learned chanson polyphonique. Representative of this stylistic current were chansons with a simple accented rhythm, written in strophic form on texts which reflected their popular origins. They were usually written for three or four voices in a chordal, syllabic and declamatory style with the melody in the upper voice. If there were melismatic passages, they were short, and if they were imitative the voice entries were at close distance apart.<sup>2</sup> Analogous to the Italian frottola, these chansons of popular origin were to lead eventually, at the end of the century, to the air and the air de cour.

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<sup>1</sup>See Friedrich Blume, Renaissance and Baroque Music, A Comprehensive Survey, trans. by M. D. Herter Norton, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1967), pp. 35-68. And also, Howard M. Brown, "The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530," in Chanson & Madrigal 1480-1530, ed. by James Haar, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 1-50; and François Lesure, Musicians and Poets in the French Renaissance, (New York: Merlin, 1955), pp. 9-41.

<sup>2</sup>For examples of these see Jacobi Arcadelt Opera Omnia, ed. by Albert Seay, Vol. 31-VIII of Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, ed. by Armen Carapetyan (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1968), Nos. 42, 43, 44.



After 1550, the struggle for survival between these two stylistic currents was intensified. The polyphonic chanson had "enjoyed a remarkable efflorescence between 1530 and 1550. During the second half of the century its development was slowed down and the style became rather less individual."<sup>1</sup> This was so because the chanson polyphonique came under the influence of the Italian madrigal, and also because the literary taste grew more refined with poets such as Ronsard, and later, Desportes. In fact it was at this time that a long line of composers such as Janequin, Goudimel, Certon, Costeley, and Lassus, to name but a few, had begun to set to music the odes, sonnets and chansons of Ronsard, the leading poet of La Pléiade, who took great care to write his verses so that they would suit musical expression.

The Italian influence on the polyphonic chanson was apparent in three ways. First, its composers were influenced by the choice of text; they turned to translations of Petrarchan sonnets, of canzone, of dialoghi and of sestine. Secondly, it was influenced in its texture, since composers preferred to write for five voices and tended to make each voice more independent. Thirdly, the Italian influence was felt in the expressiveness of the chanson where the characteristic Italian "madrigalisms" were used.

The chanson of the second current underwent an artistic

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<sup>1</sup>Borren, "French chanson," p. 20.



ascent after 1550, and developed a more individual style, which was to reach full maturity only towards the end of the century. The quality of the text had improved; before 1550, lyric verses in the form of strophes had replaced the gauloise and rustique popular text. In the fifth and sixth decades the texts were often neo-classical odes and chansons, more in keeping with the recommendations of La Pléiade.

From a musical point of view the homophonic and syllabic settings of these chansons gave very little opportunity for purely musical inventiveness. Moreover, while the declamation of the text before 1550 was subjected to the rhythm of the music, by 1560 the music was almost completely subservient to the text. The ternary measures which had alternated with the duple ones during the fourth decade, had practically disappeared by 1560, giving way to the more flexible duple measure.<sup>1</sup> After 1570, the popular chanson ceased to be referred to as vaudeville, and was called air, and later, because it was well received at the court, air de cour.

During the last quarter of the century, regular measures tended to disappear from the air. To replace them, a new free rhythm, entirely dependent on the prosody of the text began to impose itself. The value of a half-note was given to the longer

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to compare the two settings of Ronsard's ode, "Mignonne allons voir si la rose," in these two styles; one is a chanson polyphonique by Costeley, the other a "voix-de-ville" collected by Julian Chardanoine. See, La Fleur des Musiciens de P. de Ronsard, ed. by H. Expert (New York: Broude Brothers, 1965), pp. 44-48 and 74.



syllables and that of a quarter-note to the shorter ones. After 1585 barlines appeared. They were placed at the end of the verses and served to indicate that the music was without isometric measures. The time signature became practically meaningless.<sup>1</sup>

As for the polyphonic chanson in the last quarter of the century, it apparently suffered a decline in popularity for it was cultivated by only a few composers and it never regained an independent French style. Whether or not it continued to be influenced by Italianism is a controversial question. What is more certain is that the air de cour gained in popularity and became the leading style of composers who were reacting against Italian madrigalism. It made exclusive use of the odes, plaintes, complaintes, stances and other literary forms which the polyphonic chanson had abandoned in favor of Italian forms. With composers such as Guédron, Bonnet, Le Blanc and Bataille, it had grown to full stylistic maturity by the end of the century.

It was within the context of these stylistic developments under humanistic influence that Baïf's movement originated and grew.<sup>2</sup> Humanism had already left its imprint on the music of Josquin in the

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<sup>1</sup>See Kenneth J. Levy, "Vaudeville, vers mesurés et airs de cour," in Musique et poésie au XVIe siècle; ed. by Jean Jacquot (Paris: Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954), pp. 190-192. A further discussion of this rhythmic notation relative to musique mesurée will be found in Chapter IV, pp. 76-95.

<sup>2</sup>The humanist theories supporting musique mesurée and Baïf's Academy will be discussed in Chapter III.



first decade of the sixteenth century,<sup>1</sup> but it was only after 1550 that musical humanism became influential enough to give rise to vers et musique mesurés under Baïf's leadership.

When musique mesurée is considered in relation to the stylistic developments of the sixteenth-century vocal idioms several questions arise. One might ask if Baïf's movement was an outgrowth of the stylistic developments which have been discussed and whether or not musique mesurée influenced the style of the air de cour. These problems will be examined in the final chapter of this study. But first it would seem appropriate to learn more about Baïf and the factors which might have influenced his decision to institute and foster vers et musique mesurés.

#### Baïf and La Pléiade

Jean-Antoine de Baïf was born in Venice on February 19th, 1532, of a Venetian mother. At that time his father, Lazare de Baïf, a scholar and a humanist, was serving François I, King of France, as ambassador to Venice. In 1534, when Lazarre de Baïf was called back to Paris, he brought his son with him and subsequently entrusted his early childhood education to Charles Estienne and Ange Vergèce who taught him Latin and Greek.

In 1540, when Lazare was called on a diplomatic mission to

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<sup>1</sup>See Eduard von Lowinsky, "Zur Frage der Deklamationsrhythmik in der a-capella-Musik des 16. Jahrhunderts," in Acta Musicologica, VII, 2 (1935), 62-67; and also, Wenderlin Müller-Blattan, "Der Humanismus in der Musikgeschichte Frankreichs und Deutschlands," in Wiora Festschrift, pp. 296-303.





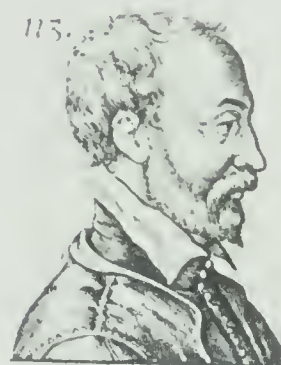
Jean Antoine de Baïf



Joachin du Bellay.



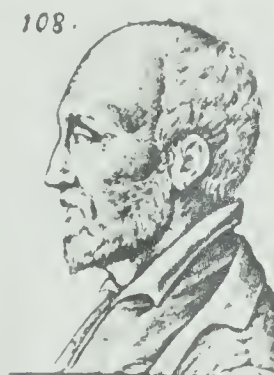
Pierre de Ronsard.



Remy Belleau.



Etienne Jodelle.



Jean d'Aurac.

Some members of La Pléiade



Germany, he left his son in the care of Jacques Toussaint, one of the most prominent professors of Greek at the Collège Royal. Four years later, in 1544, upon his return to Paris, Lazare hired a tutor for his son in the person of Jean Dorat, apparently one of the most influential scholars and hellenists in Paris at that time. Ronsard, the future leading poet of La Pléiade, who had accompanied the ambassador on his mission to Germany as his personal secretary, was invited to stay at Baïf's house and to share Dorat's teaching with the young Jean Antoine. Ronsard took advantage of this opportunity, even though he was eight years older than Baïf's son.

In 1547, Lazare de Baïf died, leaving his house and all he possessed to his sixteen-year-old son. That same year Jean Dorat was appointed principal of the Collège Coqueret and his two private students, Baïf and Ronsard, followed him there to pursue their classical studies.

Ronsard and Baïf studied with Dorat for about five years, from 1544 to 1549. During this period they were joined by other young poets, eager to study, discuss and learn under Dorat. This "jovial group of college students" which Ronsard called La Brigade, was to give way after 1548 to a selected and reactionary group of poets and "érudits" which Ronsard later called La Pléiade, the name given in antiquity to seven Greek poets.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Henri Chamard, Histoire de la Pléiade, (4 vols., Paris: Henri Didier, 1939-40), I, 1-6.



Influenced by humanism and prompted by a national pride based on a desire to surpass if possible the literary and artistic examples of Italy, La Pléiade proposed to reform the French language and rejuvenate its poetic expressiveness. They planned to do this by ridding the language of "barbarianism" and by writing poetry and music according to models of ancient classics. Some of their ideas were published in 1549 in a manifesto prepared by Joachim Du Bellay,<sup>1</sup> in which he promotes new poetic genres in a renewed, enriched and glorified language. Meanwhile, Ronsard was preparing this poetic language for an ever closer union with music.<sup>2</sup> This close collaboration between poet and musician, which Ronsard desired so much, was realised in 1552 when at the end of his Amours and Cinquième livre des Odes were published twenty-three leaflets containing music by Certon, Goudimel, Muret and Janequin. This music which had been especially composed for Ronsard's poems was but the beginning of a long series of settings to be written on Ronsard's poetry.

La Pléiade and Baïf's movement both stem from common humanistic sources and share common ideals. Moreover, Baïf, as a member of La Pléiade was susceptible to encouragement from other eminent members of this group, some of which could have influenced

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<sup>1</sup>Joachim Du Bellay, Déffense et illustration de la langue Françoise, ed. by Henri Chamard, (Paris: Librairie Albert Foulcemoing, 1904).

<sup>2</sup>Pierre de Ronsard, Abrégé de l'Art Poétique, ed. by P. Laumonier (Paris: Librairie Marcel Dédier, 1949), pp. 9 and 28.



him in his venture into vers et musique mesurés. This relationship puts into perspective the common heritage of both La Pléiade and the aims of Baïf's Academy.

Before examining what possible encouragement and influence Baïf could have received from La Pléiade, it is well to examine other less immediate but nevertheless possible influences, that is, Baïf's predecessors in the realm of vers mesurés.

#### The Predecessors of Vers mesurés.

The first attempts at using classical quantitative meters in a vernacular language apparently dates back to the mid-fifteenth century when in Italy, Leon Baptista Alberti and Leonardo Dati wrote some hexameters in their native tongue. This fifteenth-century Italian endeavor had its counterpart in France when Michel de Boteauville wrote in 1491 a treatise entitled L'Art de métrifier françois. He had previously written, in 1477, a poem in Latin hexameters which he translated into French in 1500 to provide a model for the theories advanced in his treatise. D. P. Walker discusses these three writers as having had no influence on Baïf's movement on the grounds that they had been forgotten by 1550.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>D. P. Walker, "Vers et musique mesurés à l'antique" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, England; 1940), p. 1. Portions of this thesis relative to musique mesurée have been published in the form of articles in The Music Review and in Musica Disciplina. Cf. Bibliography p. 151.

The author is indebted to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for making available the manuscript copy of Dr. Walker's dissertation.



In the sixteenth century, and before Baïf, three other Italians experimented with vers mesurés. In 1539, Claudio Tolomei published in Rome his Versi e Regole de la Nuova Poesia Toscana. This book contained a collection of vers mesurés followed by a few rules for determining the quantity of syllables in Italian. In 1555, Bernardo Tasso published some hexameters, and in 1556 Alamanni wrote a comedy called Flora in iambic meters. Walker agrees with Augé-Chiquet in his statement that Tolomei was unknown to Baïf, and that Tasso and Alamanni published their works after the writers of La Pléiade had discussed and approved of the idea of vers mesurés. Their influence on Baïf's movement, if any, would have been very slight.

The list of sixteenth-century French writers who were not members of La Pléiade, but who wrote some vers mesurés, is more imposing than the Italian one. In 1530 Mousset would have translated Homer in French hexameters. Denisot, Pasquier, Taillemont and Toutain all wrote vers mesurés, but published very few, and like Mousset, made no attempt to publicize the idea. On these grounds Walker estimates their influence on Baïf to be of little importance.<sup>1</sup> Buttet was probably known to Baïf and the members of La Pléiade, but he published only two works in vers mesurés. Furthermore, since very few of his works were published--they were not well received--Walker

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 3



suggests that "as a propagandist for vers mesurés he was of little use."<sup>1</sup>

Two French theorists, non-members of La Pléiade, have discussed vers mesurés. The unknown author of the Abbréviation de l'Art Poétique (1556) had a very positive attitude towards quantitative writing. However he does not discuss the problem of quantity in French and did not seem to realize, as did Peletier and Tyard later on, the difficulties involved in writing quantitatively in French. In 1563 Jean de la Taille wrote a treatise called La manière de faire des vers en français, comme en grec et en latin. La Taille was displeased with the French rhyme and he advocated a classical quantitative system. He presented a set of rules for applying quantity in French, but these were quite artificial and arbitrary. It is very likely that his work, and the Abbréviation de l'Art Poétique remained unknown to Baïf. La Taille's treatise, though written in 1562, the year he died, was published as late as 1573, probably, as Augé-Chiquet suggests, because of the interest in vers mesurés which Baïf aroused.<sup>2</sup>

From the foregoing it would seem that the predecessors of Baïf, though numerous, would have had little influence on him or on his movement. The main source of encouragement and influence remained

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 19

<sup>2</sup> Mathieu Augé-Chiquet, La vie, les idées et l'oeuvre de Jean-Antoine de Baïf, (Paris, 1909; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), p. 344.



La Pléiade. This is supported by Baïf himself. In a poem addressed to Charles IX at the beginning of his Etrènes de poëzie Françoise, en vers mesurés, he wrote:

Mès si la fleur d'antr'eus Péletiér é Tiart, et si Ronsard,  
Voere du Bêllé mêm'ont tous souhété, ke le Fransoès  
Sût mezurér ses vèrs à la Grek' é Latine du bon tans,  
K'e-je méfèt? Si prenant leur konsèl, éins pour akonplir  
Leurs trèjustes souhès é dezirs, kourajeus je m'anhardi,  
(Moé ki ne suis dèrniér antr'eus à la rime, de leur tans  
Mès plus jeune dez ans) sous vous kourajeus je m'anhardi,  
Sir', amenér lès vèrs mezurés? Il plêzet à chantér,  
Mêmez à seus ki ne lèz émet pas: E piéront à prononsér,  
Kant lez oreles polis la valeur dès nonbres konoêtront.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear from this poem that at least four writers of La Pléiade encouraged Baïf and perhaps influenced him in his endeavor to write vers mesurés. As for Dorat, Baïf refers to him as follows:

C'est par lui que sortant de la vulgaire trace  
Dans un nouveau sentier moy le premier je passe,  
Ouvrant à nos François un passage inconnû,  
Que nul paravant moy dans la France n'a tenu.<sup>2</sup>

This passage suggests one of two things: first, that Dorat may have inspired Baïf with the idea of writing classical quantitative meters in the French language when he was studying with him; or secondly, that Baïf could be grateful to Dorat for having instilled in him the appreciation of the rhythm of classical verse which he had now decided to apply to the French language.

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<sup>1</sup>Euvres en rimes de Jan-Antoine de Baïf, ed. by Ch. Marty-Laveaux (Paris, 1881; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, [1965]), V, 300-301. This quotation is written in Baïf's phonetic spelling.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., I, vi. With the exception of sixteenth and seventeenth-century prose, the French quotations in this study will not be translated.



Du Bellay was the first of La Pléiade to mention vers mesurés. In his Déffense et illustration (1549) he discreetly included vers mesurés on the agenda of La Pléiade, at least as an experiment to be attempted. But most important, he formulates "a linguistic theory on which nearly all vers mesurés are based: that language is an entirely conscious and voluntary creation which can be altered at will, even quite suddenly and drastically."<sup>1</sup>

Like most of the Déffense et illustration these ideas are a reflection of ideals commonly shared by the members of La Pléiade, and therefore, presumably, by Baïf himself.

Later, in the chapter dealing with the kind of Poetry which should be written by French Poets, Du Bellay recommends the writings of sapphic verses, "si non avec pieds au moins en syllabe." These were unquantitative verses of eleven syllables, and were, as Walker suggests, the only example of the influence of the ideas of vers mesurés on the technique of ordinary versification in the sixteenth century.

Ronsard in 1552, wrote two of these "Odes saphiques." It seems that these could have been mistaken for vers mesurés. His support of Baïf's movement was apparently limited to encouragements. Even with appeals from Baïf such as this one:

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<sup>1</sup>Walker, Thesis, p. 6.



Possible quelqu'un s'eprovant à mon patron,  
Ce qu'est commencè, mieux qu n'ai fait parfera  
Meilleur soyez-vous: c'est assez que suis premier.<sup>1</sup>

Ronsard never went further than the writing of two sapphic odes.

According to Pasquier, a poet contemporary with Baïf, the first to write vers mesurés in French would have been Jodelle, a member of La Pléiade, who in 1553, wrote a distich at the beginning of de Magny's Amours.

Phebus, Amour, Cypris, veult sauver, nourrir et orner  
Ton vers, cueur et chef, d'ombre, de flame, de fleurs.<sup>2</sup>

Always according to Pasquier, this distich, which he calls "un petit chef-d'oeuvre," would have incited Denisot to write some vers mesurés. Walker suggested that he could have exerted an influence on Baïf.

Jacques Peletier was the next member of La Pléiade to discuss vers mesurés. In his Art Poétique (1555), after disapproving of blank verses he says:

Je ne voudrai pas reprouver les vers métrifiez à la mode  
de ceux des Grecs et des Latins: lesquels je vois avoir  
été essayés par aucuns des notres. Mais il n'y a pas  
petite difficulté. Et faudrait bien savoir observer la  
longueur et brieveté naturelle de nos syllabes. Il  
faudrait bien acoutrer la façon vulgair d'ortographier,  
et oter ces concurrences de consones et ces lettres  
doubles qu l'on met aux syllabes breves.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Euvres en rimes . . ., ed. cit., V, 323.

<sup>2</sup>Etienne Jodelle, Les oeuvres et meslanges poétiques . . ., ed. by Ch. Marty-Laveaux, (Paris, 1866-93); Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, [1965], p. 184.

<sup>3</sup>L'Art poétique, ed. by A. Boulanger, (Paris: Société des d'édition Les Belles Lettres, 1930). pp. 159-60.



This passage is of importance since it seems to be the first which mentions any association of orthographic reform with the practice of vers mesurés. It is perhaps owing to Peletier that Baïf would have devised a new phonetic spelling with which to write his vers mesurés.

In the same year that Ronsard's sonnets were being set to music for the first time (1552), Pontus de Tyard, a musical humanist and member of La Pléiade, published in Lyon his two Solitaires. In the second Solitaire he discusses vers mesurés. These passages are more important than any other mentioned so far, "because Tyard was the only French writer who, prior to the Academy, mentioned or discussed the special connection between quantitative verse and music."<sup>1</sup> Tyard's book gains in importance with regard to Baïf's movement when we consider that without joining vers mesurés to music, Baïf's efforts would have probably resulted in another unsuccessful attempt at writing vers mesurés, only perhaps on a larger scale. The theories contained in Tyard's Solitaires may well have been at the base of this union, for as Walker says,

Tyard's views on music did not condition musique mesurée, nor were they even a dominant influence, but they probably gave Baïf his first introduction to musical humanism, and thus started him off on researches which, culminating in three years work with Courville, finally, resulted in musique mesurée.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Walker, Thesis, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 15.



There remains to be examined the predecessors of musique mesurée and the influence they could have had on Baïf.

### The Predecessors of Musique mesurée.

It was at the beginning of the sixteenth century that classical Latin odes were first set to music. This practice was cultivated mainly in Germany where, under the supervision of the humanist Conrad Celtis, the first humanistic odes set to music by Petrus Tritonius were published.

These odes contained several characteristic features. The text was a Latin ode of antiquity, preferably by Horace, of strict syllabic declamation which avoided all repetition of the text. The music was written for four voices in homophony, avoiding all counterpoint. Furthermore, it made use of short and long notes usually in a constant 2:1 proportion (  $\text{♩} - \text{♩}$  ) to fit the short and long syllables of the Latin meters. Here is an example of Tritonius' setting of Horace's "Vides ut alta stet."

(C.f.) Vi - des ut al - ta stet ni - ve - can - di - dum So - ra - cte; nec jam su - sti - ne - ant  
Sich an, wie tief in Schnee der So - ra - cte steht hell leuch - tend; äch - zend un - ter der Last

o - nus Sil - vac la - bo - ran - tes, ge - lu - que Flu - mi - na con - sti - te - rint a - cū - to.  
be - bet rings um der Wald des Bergs, und star - rend ste - len die Flüs - se ge - bannt vom Fro - ste.  
(noch 5 Strophen)

Example 1: Petrus Tritonius, Vides et alta stet<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Melopoiae sive harmoniae . . . (Augsburg: 1507) I, 9; reprinted in Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen, ed. by Arnold Schering, (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Breitkopf & Härtel, 1930), p. 70.



The same music of one ode could be used for other texts provided the metrical pattern was the same.

During the first half of the sixteenth century other German composers followed Tritonius' example. Rudolph Agricola's Melodiae scholasticae was published in 1512, followed by Michael's Undeniginti odarum Horattii melodiae, in 1526. In 1534 Senfl published his Varia carminum genera. . ., while Hofheimer's Harmoniae poeticae was printed in 1539. Finally in 1547, appeared Glareanus' Dodecachorde containing several Horatian odes set to music by the author himself.

According to Masson, this practice of setting Latin classical verses to music was also cultivated in France.<sup>1</sup> Although none of the music of these settings has survived, it is certain that at least one composer, Claude Goudimel, set all of Horace's Odes to music. He published his Q. Horattii Flacci poetae lyrici odae omnes quotquot carminum generibus differunt ad rhythmos musicos redactae, in 1555. (The complete lyric and poetic odes of Horace set to musical rhythms according to their various genres.) The music of this work is not extant, but judging from the title it is likely that Goudimel would have set these odes in a manner that was very close to that of the Germans.

The humanistic-ode movement then, would apparently have

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<sup>1</sup>Paul-Marie Masson, "Le Mouvement humaniste," in Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire, ed. by A. Lavignac and L. de la Laurencie, (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1913), Pt. I, 3, p. 1298. See also, François Lesure, "Claude Goudimel," in Musica Disciplina, II (1948), pp. 226 and 230.



originated in Germany. This was generally accepted until recently. Lowinsky suggested "that the origin of the Renaissance humanistic ode [on Latin texts] lies in Italy, where the first German practitioners of the genre received the inspiration of their work."<sup>1</sup> Lowinsky's research has revealed that in 1504 Petrucci published an ode by Horace entitled Integer vitae, set to music by Michele Presenti. However, the humanistic odes would not have developed into a musical genre in Italy because they were too simple to sustain interest. This seems to be true also of the odes in Germany for, in comparing these with French musique mesurée of Baïf's Academy, Masson says:

La vraie musique humaniste française, celle des "vers mesurés," présente avec les essais des humanistes allemands des différences radicales. En Allemagne, cette musique était faite pour les écoles; en France, elle est faite pour les gens du monde. En Allemagne, elle avait un caractère surtout pédagogique; en France, elle est proprement artistique. Les Allemands mettaient sur des vers latins une musique relativement simple: les Français mettront une musique savante et ornée sur des vers français construits d'après les règles de la métrique grecque et latine. Ils seront les seuls à réaliser complètement l'idéal humaniste du lyrisme. . .<sup>2</sup>

The final question of what influence this humanistic ode movement might have had on Baïf and French musique mesurée is difficult to estimate. That Baïf would have known of these settings before 1567, is possible. He could have heard of the German setting of

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<sup>1</sup>See "Verse Meter and Melodie Rhythm in the Age of Humanism," in International Musicological Society, Report of the Eighth Congress, New York, 1961, ed. by Jan La Rue, (Kassel, Bärenreiter Verlag, 1961), II, 67-68.

<sup>2</sup>"Le Mouvement humaniste," p. 1298.



classical odes through Ronsard who had spent four years in Germany between 1540 and 1544, or perhaps directly through their publication in Germany. There is a greater possibility that he would have known Goudimel who lived in Paris between 1548 and 1557, and who was a student at the University. His setting of Ronsard's poetry to music in 1552 renders this possibility even more likely.

As for the influence of these German settings of Latin verse on French musique mesurée Walker states that it must be admitted as a possibility.<sup>1</sup> His supposition rests on the differences in style between the early musique mesurée of Fabrice and de Courville, and the later ones of Le Jeune and Mauduit. Both of the latter's more severe observances of humanistic musical principles could have been a sign of possible German influence.<sup>2</sup>

It has been shown that Baïf had predecessors in both vers mesurés and musique mesurée. There is one common trait amongst those writers of vers mesurés. All strived to restore classical quantitative meters in the vernacular independently of any association with music. This generally resulted in unsuccessful literary humanism. The originality of Baïf lies in his combination of literary humanism and musical humanism, resulting in a movement that existed for fifteen years and which gave birth to the first publicly

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<sup>1</sup>Thesis, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter IV. pp. 99-106.



constituted French Academy. In this endeavor, Baïf could have been influenced by his predecessors who were not members of La Pléiade, but it seems that this group was his main source of encouragement and influence. As for his predecessors in musique mesurée it is possible that they would have influenced both Baïf and the later composers of the Academy.



## CHAPTER II

### THE ACADEMIE DE POESIE ET DE MUSIQUE

About the year 1530 Lazare de Baïf, father of Jean-Antoine de Baïf, built for himself just outside of Paris in the suburb of St. Victor, a splendid Renaissance mansion which on his death in 1547 he bequeathed to his son. Lazare de Baïf, by profession a diplomat and a Parliamentary counsellor, was also a humanist who counted in his circle of friends hellenists such as Aleandro, the eminent professor of Greek at the University of Paris. His humanism was reflected even in this mansion which François Colletet describes in these words:

I remember, when a young child, having seen the house of that excellent man, which used to be pointed out as a precious mark of antiquity. It was situated in the parish of Saint-Nicholas-du-Chardonnet on the very spot where has since been built the house of the English nuns of the order of Saint Augustine, and under each window were fine Greek inscriptions in capital letters, taken from Anacreon, Pindar, Homer, and several others, which agreeably attracted the eyes of learned passers-by.<sup>1</sup>

The truth of this description was confirmed two centuries later by H. Sauval. In his Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris (1724), Sauval speaks of this house "enduite d'inscriptions

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted and trans. by Frances. A. Yates, The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (London: Warburg Institute, 1947; Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 16. This quotation is a marginal note added by Colletet films to the manuscript of the Vie de Baïf by his father Guillaume Colletet, now no longer extant. The note is preserved through having been cited by Sainte Beuve in his essay on Desportes (See Sainte Beuve, Tableau historique et critique de la poésie française et du théâtre français au XVIe siècle. (Paris, 1843) p. 422, note 1).



et d'épigrammes grecques, que Baïf possédait sur les fossés de la Ville, entre la Porte Saint-Victor et celle de Saint-Marceau."<sup>1</sup> More details as to the exact location of this Hôtel de Baïf is supplied in the passage just quoted. Frances Yates, by comparing maps of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Paris, in which the convent of the nuns of Saint-Augustine was still shown, with a map engraved by Matthieu Merian in 1615, was able to pin-point the exact site (Plate II, p. 28), between the Porte Saint-Victor and the Porte Saint-Marcel where stood the dwelling in which the meetings of the future Académie de poésie et de musique were to take place.

A discussion of Baïf's Academy is important to an understanding of musique mesurée. First will be presented the historical context and circumstances in which musique mesurée grew and developed. Secondly, since means are usually adapted to the ends pursued, the study of the aims of the Academy of Poetry and Music will be outlined, revealing a teleological aspect of musique mesurée. Finally since the most important element of an institution is ultimately the people who comprise it, the musicians of Baïf's Academy will be mentioned:

### The History of the Academy

Throughout the reign of Charles IX (1560-1574) the poet, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, had received the favors of the King. According to Colletet, the King constantly created new functions for him

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<sup>1</sup>Sauval, op. cit., p. 490.





Charles IX  
King of France (1560-1574)



Section of a Map of Paris (1615) by Matthieu Merian.  
The location of Baif's Mansion is marked by a circle.



and gave him the products of certain confiscations so that he would have "le moyen d'entretenir aux études quelques gens de lettres, de régaler chez lui tous les savants de son siècle et de tenir bonne table."<sup>1</sup> In fact, it is known that ever since he had followed his teacher Dorat to the Collège de Coqueret, with Ronsard, du Bellay and others, Baïf had held meetings in his house quite regularly. So much so that Sauval seems to identify the beginning of the Academy with La Pléiade:

In Baïf's house, Ronsard, Dorat, Du Bellay, Jodelle, Tyard, and Belleau used to assemble at the beginning;<sup>2</sup> and as they were the seven best poets of the time the name of Pléiade was given to their Academy . . . At their meetings everyone brought some work of his own which he read so as to receive advice upon it. They also discussed Philosophy, Rhetoric, Poetry and any other matter which presented itself.<sup>3</sup>

These private meetings of La Pléiade, as suggested by Yates, should be regarded as "an informal academy, the immediate precursor of the officially constituted academies of the reigns of Charles IX and Henri III and linked to them by the closest ties."<sup>4</sup>

Baïf met de Courville in 1567 and both started to work at the composition of vers mesurés and musique mesurée at that time. After three years, they would have had enough material and enough support from the King and his court, from musicians and men of

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted by Augé-Chiquet, Baïf, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup>This list is incomplete. See Chamard, Histoire de la Pléiade, I, pp. 3-6.

<sup>3</sup>Yates, French Academies, p. 19

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.



letters, to open an Academy. When Charles IX proclaimed and signed the Letters Patent of the Académie de poésie et de musique, in November of 1570, to which were appended the Statutes of the Academy, signed by Baïf and de Courville, the first publicly instituted French Academy received its Royal recognition and approval. In these Letters, the King clearly gave his whole support to the Academy and honored it by accepting the title of its "Protector and first Auditor."

On December 4th, of the same year, one of the King's advocates, Guy du Faur de Pibrac, declared to Parliament on behalf of "les gens du Roy" that they had received the Letters Patent and the Statutes of the proposed Academy and that they were giving them their verification, "provided that nothing would be composed or sung against the honour of God, the King or the republic." In Parliament however, the Letters Patent and the Statutes met with severe opposition. Many disapproved of the idea of this new institution. Some gave the reason--which was probably a pretext--that this institution might tend to "corrompre, amollir, effrener et pervertir la jeunesse." Confronted with this strong opposition, Baïf and de Courville soon requested that Parliament designate

. . . twelve of the gentlemen who find most difficulty in approving this enterprise, fearing lest it might tend to corrupt, soften, unbridle, and pervert youth to come next Sunday to the house in the Fossés Saint-Victor in the suburbs, where the audition of the Academy will be held, at any time which they may care to choose. And, having been present at a recitation of the Poetry and Music in question, let them report on it to the Court



so that the verification and publication of the Letters Patent may be proceeded with.<sup>1</sup>

Baïf and de Courville went so far as to suggest that the Parliament's first Presidents, one senior Councilor of the Court, the Attorney general, and one of the King's advocate accept the role of "Reformers of the Academy" so that

. . . nothing may take place there to the prejudice of law and morality, which would be utterly against the intentions of the managers who desire and intend that all which takes place there should be done for the honour of God, of the King, and of the French name, and for the establishment of good morality under the laws of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Although some officials, like Pibrac and Augustin de Thon, both advocates to the King, seemed in favor of proceeding with the registration, many others remained opposed to it. On December 15, 1570, Parliament, having discussed the Letters Patent and Baïf's and de Courville's request, could not reach a decision--or refused, as Augé-Chiquet suggests, to take the responsibility of a clear-cut refusal--and referred the whole matter to the authorities of the University for their consideration.

On the 30th of December, 1570, the University, meeting in full session, heard the reading of the Statutes, the Letters Patent and the Request of Baïf and de Courville. No decision was taken,

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted and trans. by Yates, French Academies, p. 26.  
Also see Augé-Chiquet, Baïf, p. 440 note.

<sup>2</sup>Yates, French Academies, p. 26.



but it was agreed upon that the documents should be distributed to each faculty and that Baïf be asked "if he wished his Academy to be separated from the University or to operate in accordance with its Laws and Statutes."<sup>1</sup>

It is not known if Baïf ever discussed or answered this delicate question. At the next session of the University, on January 22nd, 1571, such an interview is not mentioned. At this meeting, the Rector of the University, radically opposed to the idea of an independent Academy with Royal support, declared that each faculty would examine the question and submit a written report of their discussions. Furthermore he guaranteed to the authorities of the University that the Archbishop of Paris would support them if they voted against the establishment of the Academy.

All these delays were undoubtedly means of placing every possible obstacle in the way of the erection of Baïf's Academy. But why all this opposition from Parliament and the University? Augé-Chiquet suggested that Parliament, which had not forgotten its slow progress in acquiring its political powers, was jealous of a separate body receiving royal approval. Parliament knew that by granting privileges to others, it was diminishing its own, thus creating a potential rival. The University, at the same time, jealously proud of its ancient privileges as an institution of higher learning, also saw in this Academy a potential adversary.

On February 15th, 1571, each faculty presented the written results of their deliberations and the debate was engaged. Long,

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<sup>1</sup>Augé-Chiquet, Baïf, p. 442.



vivid and confusing, it risked becoming interminable, precisely according to the plans of the Rector of the University. All these fruitless discussions and envious oppositions came to an end when the King himself issued for the second time letters patent in support of Baïf's Academy. These were read to the professors of the Faculty of Medicine on the 23rd of May, 1571. In clear and categorical language, reported by Du Boulay,<sup>1</sup> Charles IX supported the new "professors" of the Academy and forbade anyone to oppose their "school." Any difficulty which might arise was to be brought, not before Parliament, but before the King's Privy Council. There was no other alternative but submission for those opposing the Academy. The Faculty of Medicine however, decided to send a delegation to Cardinal Bourbon and the Archbishop of Paris praying them to watch over the "maintenance of the ancient rights and privileges of the University."

Thus ended the turbulent oppositions which had nearly succeeded in extinguishing Baïf's project at its very start. But thanks to "un acte spontané de la volonté de Charles IX"<sup>2</sup> the first French Academy was established. Without Parliament's nor the University's approval, it had undertaken its first projects and started to give its first concerts.

Between the years 1571 and 1573 the Academy seemed to have

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<sup>1</sup>Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, (Paris 1665-73) as quoted by Augé-Chiquet, Baïf, p. 444 note.

<sup>2</sup>Edouard Frémy, L'Académie des derniers valois (Paris: 1887; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), p. 54.



functioned quite normally. But three years later, on the 30th of May, 1574, Charles IX died and his brother Henri III succeeded him to the throne. What happened to Baïf's Academy under the reign of Henri III has been a controversial question.

Frémy<sup>1</sup> and Chamard<sup>2</sup> believed that Henri III continued to support Baïf's Academy. With the help of Guy du Faur de Pibrac, certain changes were made to the initial constitution and more emphasis was placed on philosophical discussions and rhetoric. Since these rhetorical sessions were held at the Louvre, the Academy was called l'Académie du Palais.

According to Augé-Chiquet<sup>3</sup> and Walker<sup>4</sup> the Academy would have disappeared with the death of Charles IX and it would have been supplanted by the Palace Academy, where "eloquence and philosophy" replaced "poetry and music."

Frances Yates does not agree with Augé-Chiquet and Walker, and maintains that

. . . Baïf's Academy continued to function under Henri III--the reading of "philosophical discourses" in it by Jamyn being by no means out of keeping with<sup>5</sup> its encyclopaedic character as described by Mersenne --and did not really come to an end until the last outbreak of the wars of religion in Henri's reign

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 112-113.

<sup>2</sup>Histoire de la Pléiade, IV, 143.

<sup>3</sup>Baïf, p. 456

<sup>4</sup>D.P. Walker, "The Aims of Baïf's Académie de Poésie et de Musique," in Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music, I (1946), 97.

<sup>5</sup>See below p. 44.



made its activities impossible.<sup>1</sup>

Later she adds

. . . Henri III attended meetings both of a New Academy in the Louvre, devoted to philosophical debate, and of Baïf's Academy, where the proceedings included music. The Palace Academy does not "supplant" Baïf's Academy; it is an extension of it, an additional sign of royal favour for the academic movement.<sup>2</sup>

In support of this opinion Yates gives a number of reasons. First, she quotes texts of seventeenth-century writers who knew of the Academy by tradition or through documents that do not exist today.<sup>3</sup> The impression gained from these quotations is that those writers did not make any radical distinction between two different Academies, one under Charles IX and another under Henri III.

Secondly, the introduction of "philosophy and rhetoric" into the framework of the Academy was completely in keeping with the encyclopaedic character and aims of the Academy.<sup>4</sup> There was no need to form another Academy for that reason.

Thirdly, a document dated 1585, shows that Henri III made a grant of money to Baïf and the "heirs of Thibault," the co-founder with Baïf, of the Academy of Poetry and Music. Augé-Chiquet sees this donation as Henri III acquitting a debt of his predecessor Charles IX. It is plausible to conceive it as King Henri's last contribution to the Academy in accordance with its statutes.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Yates, French Academies, pp. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 31

<sup>3</sup>See above p.26 note 1.

<sup>4</sup>See below pp. 38-44.

<sup>5</sup>See below, p. 39, where the Statutes of the Academy are discussed.



Fourthly, Sauval corroborates all these reasons with this statement:

Henri III loved poetry no less than poets and the Academy. At the solicitation of Pibrac, he wished to establish an Academy of learned persons in the Louvre. Ronsard, Du Perron, Doren, the Maître des Requêtes, Baïf, Desportes, Tyard, Bishop of Chalons, and other learned persons of great merit were to be the academicians. At its initiation Ronsard pronounced before him a discourse which was heard with great applause, and all the others were to do likewise, each in his turn. All this aroused so much expectation, that no one doubted that by this means one might in a short time acquire the belles lettres. One day when the king was come to Baïf's Academy, Jacques Mauduit, Clerk of the Cour des Requêtes, a good poet and a still better musician--so good in fact that he had earned the name of Father of Music--caused to be sung at the end some verses which he had set to music in parts. This Henri III found so agreeable and so suitable that he commanded him to continue, and wished that in future the assembly should always terminate in this way.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Vallet de Vireville who may have had access to the now missing biography of Baïf by Colletet, clearly states that "Baïf's Academy functioned effectively and with full success for fifteen years. The sessions were held twice a week, sometimes at the poet-founder's house, sometimes in the king's apartment in the Louvre. . ."<sup>2</sup>

Baïf's Academy therefore would have existed and functioned from 1570 to 1585. It may have come to an end, possibly because of

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<sup>1</sup>H. Sauval, Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris (Paris: 1724) II, p. 490 as quoted by Yates, French Academies, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>Histoire de l'instruction publique (Paris: 1849), p. 260, note 2 as quoted by Yates, French Academies, p. 31, note 3. Notice that Walker, in supposing that Baïf's Academy had ceased to exist after 1573, is puzzled by the words "One day when the King was come to Baïf's Academy. . ." in this quotation. He concluded with Augé-Chiquet that "Sauval muddled two sources." See Walker, Thesis, pp. 62-63.



financial difficulties, but more probably because of the outbreak of the wars of religion in 1585. That the closing of the Academy was occasioned by the wars of religion, and by financial difficulties is further suggested by La Croix du Maine, who believed that the closure was only temporary. In speaking of Baïf, he says:

He (Baïf) flourishes in Paris in this year 1584, and has established an Academy which is frequented by all kinds of excellent personages, the first of this age. It has been discontinued for some time, but when it shall please the king to favour this praiseworthy enterprise and to find money for its upkeep, foreigners will no longer be able to boast that they have in their country fine things which surpass anything we can show.<sup>1</sup>

The only source of information regarding the outcome of Baïf's Academy after 1585 is Sauval, who states that after Baïf's death on the 19th of September 1589, Mauduit would have transferred the Academy to his own home on the Rue des Juifs. Whether or not he organized concerts of musique mesurée in his private house is not known, but considered probable by Walker.<sup>2</sup> Merseune in his Eloges of Jacques Mauduit,<sup>3</sup> describes how, in November 1589, Mauduit ran a great risk in saving the unprinted works of Baïf during the invasion of the Fauxbourg Saint-Victor by the Army of Henry IV.

It is certain that the tradition of musique mesurée was kept alive for the next decade and well into the seventeenth century, but it seems unlikely that Baïf's Academy was ever revived. This is

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<sup>1</sup> La Croix du Main and Du Verdier, Les Bibliothèques Françaises, ed. by Rigoley de Juvigny, (Paris: 1772), I, p. 440, as quoted and trans. by Yates, French Academies, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Aims, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> See Yates, French Academies, pp. 73-75.



suggested by Mauduit's plan for an entirely new academy, undoubtedly modeled on Baïf's but not a revival of it. Here is how Walker describes it, according to Sauval's story:

Mauduit is said to have conceived the idea of another Academy, called the "Confrérie, Société & Académie Royale de Sainte Cécile, Vièrge & Martyre." Louis XIII was to be its founder and the musicians of his chapel and court were to be members of it. In addition there were to be: an "abbé," a governor, thirty chaplains, fifty singers and players of instruments, three professors, two printers, clerks, an organist, and a master maker of instruments. One of the professors was to teach to the academicians "la Musique théorique et mathématique"; the other two "la musique en rimes & en Vers." There were to be competitions and prizes for Latin and French verse and for music. A house and a church were to be built for it on the island of Notre Dame; the latter, dedicated to Sainte Cécile, was also to serve as parish church to the inhabitants of the island.<sup>1</sup>

But in 1627, says Sauval, all these fanciful projects vanished with Mauduit's death.

#### The Aims and Activities of the Academy

The Letters Patent and the Statutes of the Academy are the main sources from which can be drawn the activities and the aims of Baïf's Academy.

The Letters Patent, after explaining how Baïf and de Courville had already worked "assiduellement" for more than three years at "the advancement of the French language, and at bringing back into use both the kind of poetry and measure and rule of music anciently used by the Greeks and Romans," grant them the authority

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<sup>1</sup> Walker, Aims, p. 100.



to erect an "Academy of Music." This Academy was to be constituted of "Auditors," who would support it financially and "Musicians" to whom were accorded the same privileges as the king's servants.

The documents specified certain rules for the good functioning of the Academy. It was understood that no one in the Academy--auditor or musician--would transgress any laws of the Kingdom. The names of the auditors, their titles and the amount of money they pledged to pay in support of the Academy was to be entered in the "Book of the Academy," along with the names of the musicians. The amount of money pledged was payable semi-annually and in advance. If after one or two concerts some auditor wished to withdraw from the Academy, his money was refunded, provided he had not broken any of the rules. A breach of the rules would result in expulsion from the Academy with the money not being refunded. The auditors were given a medallion which gave them access to the regular concerts of the Academy. It was not transferable. If a member should die, his heirs were obliged to return the medallion to the Academy within a month, under a fine of 100 pounds.

The musicians were to recite and sing their vers et musique mesurés every Sunday during a two-hour concert for the auditors. They also had to agree to meet at certain hours to rehearse the parts that they had studied privately. In musical matters they were to submit to the entrepreneurs of the Academy. No musician was allowed to bring anyone into the Academy nor to show any of the music without the consent of the entire Academy. Further-



more, upon leaving the Academy none of the musicians could take with them the books or the music of the Academy. For their services, the musicians were paid a salary and if they became ill, they were cared for until full recovery.

The Statutes even specified a certain conduct to be observed at the auditions of the Academy. The Auditors were not permitted to speak, whisper or make any noise while an air was being sung. Latecomers were not to knock at the door, but were to enter when the door was opened after the song had been performed. The Auditors were not to go beyond the recess reserved for the musicians, nor were they to touch any of the books or the instruments. Finally, if a quarrel were to arise amongst the members of the Academy, they were not to attack one another, in words or in deeds, within one hundred feet from the house where the Academy was in session.

The overall impression gained from reading these documents is that this Academy was a well-planned and well-organized institution, of "a more serious and ambitious nature than the reunions of Maurice Scève and Tyard or than the Italian Accademie of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it appears to have been a centre for the composition, the teaching and the public performance of a special kind of poetry and music, called vers mesurés and musique mesurée. Such appears to have been the primary aim

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<sup>1</sup>Walker, Aims, p. 93.



of the Académie de poésie et de musique.

In studying these two documents more carefully however, Yates points out that in both of them certain passages seem to reveal some larger aims.<sup>1</sup> Charles IX states at the beginning of the Letters Patent that, by encouraging Baïf's Academy, he is following the example of his grandfather, François I, who was a great patron of letters and science. Yates sees in this a linking of the Academy with the whole intellectual movement of the French Renaissance. Furthermore, there seems to be a moral aim underlying the Academy, as suggested by this phrase from the same document:

. . . the opinion of many great personages: both ancient legislators and philosophers. . . that it is of great importance for the morals of the citizens of a town that the music current and used in the country should be retained under certain laws, for the minds of most men are formed and their behaviour influenced by its character, so that where music is disordered, there morals are also depraved, and where it is well ordered, there men are well disciplined morally.<sup>2</sup>

Yates thinks that one reason why Charles IX was so favorably disposed towards the Academy is that he was anxious to see the good moral effects of this revival reflected on his troubled Kingdom.

The preamble to Baïf's Statutes is particularly revealing as to his belief, and presumably the King's also, in the "effects" which the measured poetry and music was capable of producing on the

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<sup>1</sup>Yates, French Academies, pp. 22-25.

<sup>2</sup>As quoted and trans. by Yates, French Academies, p. 23.



listener.<sup>1</sup>

In order to bring back into use music in its perfection which is to represent words in singing completed by sounds, harmony and melody, consisting in the choice and regulation of voices, sounds, and well harmonized accords, so as to produce the effect which the sense of the words requires, either lowering or raising or otherwise influencing the spirits, thus renewing the ancient fashion of composing measured verses to which are accommodated tunes likewise measured in accordance with the metric art. In order also that by this means the minds of the Auditors, accustomed and trained to music in all its parts, may be composed so as to become capable of the highest knowledge after being purged of the remnants of barbarism, under the good pleasure of our sovereign lord the King we have agreed to form an Academy. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The ultimate aims of the Academy appear then as follows:

musique mesurée and the measured verses to which it was set are valued because of the "effects" they are capable of producing on the listeners. This however is only a means towards an end, since it will serve in preparing the spirit toward the acquiring of the highest knowledge, by ridding it of all barbarism. Baïf's Academy therefore,

. . . cannot be understood if it is regarded merely as a series of concerts organised under royal patronage. It belongs to the atmosphere of Neo-Platonism in which "music" can have more than a literal meaning, can become an "image of the whole encyclopaedia," covering all the disciplines, and in which the end of all artistic and intellectual effort is to purge the mind of the remnants of barbarism so that it may become capable of the highest knowledge.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The humanistic theories of the "effects" will be discussed more fully in Chapter III, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup>Yates, French Academies, p. 23

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



If the Academy was meant to be an educational institution of higher learning, such as a university, the strong opposition put forth by Parliament and particularly by the University makes much more sense.<sup>1</sup> It is quite conceivable that the University, in seeing this new institution of higher learning with strong royal support as a potential adversary, would have had cause to be alarmed. It is not impossible also that a sixteenth-century Parliament would have believed that certain "effects" could be produced at the Academy, but perhaps they were not sure if these would be good or bad for the youth.

Yates' proposition, however, is not mere conjecture. It rests on a reliable contribution by Mersenne, the seventeenth-century musical theorist, who describes the Academy fifty years later. His information was derived not only from the Letters Patent and the Statutes, but from the eyewitness testimony of one of the most prominent composers of the Academy, Jacques Mauduit, who in his old age was a close friend of Mersenne. No doubt that what was not clear in the royal documents was explicated by Mauduit who knew what the Academy had really been like. Here is part of Mersenne's account:

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<sup>1</sup>Note also that in his second Letters Patent, Charles IX used the words "Professors" and "School." See above, p. 33.



When Jean Antoine de Baïf and Joachim Thibault de Courville laboured together to drive barbarism from Gaul, they considered that nothing would be of more potency for forming the manners of youth to everything honourable than if they were to recover the effects of ancient music and compose all their songs on the models of the fixed rules of the Greeks.

Wherefore they wished so to provide that nothing should be lacking in the Academy which should make it suitable for the perfecting of a man, both in mind and body. Therefore they appointed to this Academy men most skilled in every kind of natural sciences, and instituted a prefect of it who should be called the Head Teacher. I leave out the other masters, of sciences, of tongues especially, of music, of poetry, of geography, of the various parts of mathematics, and of painting, who promoted the good of the mind, and the military prefects who taught all those things which are useful for military discipline and for the good of the body. There were also others appointed over domestic affairs, such as clothing, gardening, food, money, and such like.<sup>1</sup>

The Academy therefore, was an institution which cultivated musique mesurée and in which all subjects were studied, natural philosophy, poetry, mathematics, painting, the languages, even military discipline and gymnastics.

There remains to be examined the question of how many of these aims and activities were realized and practiced in Baïf's Academy.

A project which Baïf had in mind in conjunction with the Academy is mentioned by D. P. Walker, who believes that it never materialized.<sup>2</sup> This project stems from a letter addressed to Charles

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<sup>1</sup>Marin Mersenne, Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim . . . (Paris, 1623), quaest. 57, columns 1683, 1684, 1687, as quoted and trans. by Yates, French Academies, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Walker, Aims, pp. 95-97.



IX in which Baïf solicits the King's permission to organize an international music conference to which all the music composers of Christendom would be invited. The purpose of this conference would have been to demonstrate to the most clairvoyant of Baïf's opponents the superiority of vers et musique mesurés over ordinary music. The letter was discovered in 1895 by Léon Dorez who found no indication whatsoever as to the outcome of this request.<sup>1</sup> In this investigation, Augé-Chiquet and Walker were equally unsuccessful and they both concluded that the project was never realized.<sup>2</sup> "If all the famous musicians of Europe had come to Paris at once," says Walker, "there would certainly be some record of it."<sup>3</sup> But there seems to be no such record.

Since humanists generally believed that one means of reviving the "effect" of ancient music was through the correct use of the chromatic and enharmonic genera,<sup>4</sup> it would seem reasonable, in view of the aims of the Academy, that such an experiment would have been attempted. Unfortunately, there is no sign of the use of the genera in any musique mesurée, the reason probably being that these experiments were not successful and therefore they were never published. This, however, is not pure speculation. Gilbert

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<sup>1</sup>"Une lettre de J.-A. de Baïf à Charles IX," in Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France, II (1895), pp. 78-81.

<sup>2</sup>Augé-Chiquet, Baïf, pp. 450-51; Walker, Aims, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>See Chapter III, pp. 68-69.



Genebrard wrote that at Baïf's Academy the music "was neither diatonic, neither enharmonic nor chromatic but in three new and confusing genera."<sup>1</sup> Genebrard, a professor of Hebrew at the University of Paris, and an authority on Hebrew music, believed that the Academy was closed because of the exaggerated use of these confusing genera. Though this view is no doubt an exaggerated generalization, it serves to indicate that experiments along these lines may have been practiced at the Academy.<sup>2</sup>

That the immediate aims of the Academy--the composing and performing of vers et musique mesurés at regular concerts--was attained, can hardly be contested. The documents that were quoted above relating to the sessions of the Academy, and the impressive quantity of musique mesurée which has survived verify this.

The reviving of the ancient fashion of composing measured verses and music, however, was not necessarily restricted to the songs and the concerts of the Academy. Certain texts by Baïf reveal that experiments in the field of measured dance and theatrical representations based on classical examples, including music and ballet, had been attempted at Baïf's Academy. In a poem addressed to the King, in which Baïf explains to Charles IX the activities of the

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<sup>1</sup>Gilberti Genebrardi Theologi parisiensis. . . (Lyons, 1609), as quoted by Yates, French Academies, p. 47, note 3.

<sup>2</sup>Guillaume Costeley was probably one of the composers involved in these experiments. See below p. 58.



Academy during his absence, he says:

. . . je vous ren comte  
Du tems de vostre absence, et du long vous racomte  
Que c'est que nous faisons. Je di premier comment  
En vostre academie on euure incessamment  
Pour, des Grecs et Latins imitant l'excellence,  
De vers et chants reglez decorer vostre France

. . . . .  
Je di que j'essayoy la graue tragedie  
D'un stile magesteaux, la basse Comedie  
D'un parler simple et nêt: Là suiuant Sophoclès,  
Auteur Grec qui chanta le deces d'Hercules:  
Icy donnant l'abit à la mode de France

. . . . .  
Après je vous disoy comment je renouuelle  
Non seulement des vieux la gentillesse belle  
Aux chansons et aux vers: mais que je remettoys  
En usage leur dance: et comme j'en estoys  
Encores en propos vous contant l'entreprise  
D'un ballét que dression, dont la demarche est mise  
Selon que va marchant pas-à-pas la chanson  
Et le parler suiui d'une propre facon. . . <sup>1</sup>

"The best interpretation of this poem," says Yates, "is that the Academy was aiming at the production of complete plays in measured verse set to measured music and accompanied by measured ballet in an attempt to reproduce Greek drama with all its musical and choreographic accompaniments."<sup>2</sup> With reference to one of these theatrical settings Baïf says,

Nous avons la musique preste:  
Que Tibaud et le Jeune apreste,  
Qui leur labeur ne deniront:  
Quand mon Roy benin et sa Mere,  
Et ses Freres, d'un bon salere  
Nos beaux desirs enhardiront.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Euvres en rimes, ed. cit., II, pp. 229-30.

<sup>2</sup>Yates, French Academies, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup>Euvres en rimes, ed. cit., III, p. 2.



Most writers feel that ballets mesurés would have been a feasible practice of the Academy, since the steps in use at that time could have been made to fit quite easily the meters of musique mesurée. Furthermore, Walker states that these practices would have rested on solid classical authorities.<sup>1</sup> Prunières sees in Fabritio Caroso's treatise on dance (1600 and 1630) where the manner of dancing dactylic, spondaic and other meters are explained, a reflection of the theories and practices of the Academy.<sup>2</sup> Yates supports her argument with a quotation from Sauval. Having described how Henri III was pleased with Mauduit's music at a session of the Academy, Sauval adds,

From then onwards all ballets and mascarades were conducted by Baïf and Mauduit. Their recitatives and their choruses (leurs Récits et leurs Choeurs) were found most enjoyable, for they knew so well how to accord the measure of their verses and their music with the movements and steps of dancers, a thing which gave ravishing pleasure on account of its novelty. And a writer who lived then says that people began to be convinced of the admirable effects of ancient Poetry and Music with regard to the passions, sometimes arousing anger and sometimes calming it. And there were some who imagined that it was with a similar music that Orpheus charmed animals and Amphion men, and that rhymed poetry set to music was incapable of reaching this high point of excellence. To this it is added that, had it not been for the troubles which broke out, Mauduit and Baïf would have produced a theatrical piece in measured verses, after the manner of the ancients.<sup>3</sup>

That Baïf and the musicians of the Academy had been involved in the productions of mascarades and Royal festivities was

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<sup>1</sup>Aims, pp. 97-98.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Prunières, Le Ballet de Cour en France (Paris: Henri Laurens, éditeur, 1914), pp. 66-67. See also Augé-Chiquet, Baïf, pp. 452-454.

<sup>3</sup>Histoire et recherches. . . as quoted and trans. by Yates, French Academies, p. 62.



more recently proven by Frances Yates. In a study published in 1954<sup>1</sup> she showed how, in 1581, in at least two manifestations at the Festivities for the Marriage of the Duke of Joyeuse, Henri III's favorite, vers et musique mesurés composed by Baïf and Le Jeune were performed, possibly by choruses trained at the Academy. This study, which will be explained in more detail in a subsequent chapter,<sup>2</sup> not only supports Sauval's report, but it is a substantive proof that Baïf's Academy was in full operation under Henri III, and that he bestowed upon it the high public honor of using for his personal roles in these festivities of 1581, nothing but the unique musique mesurée of Baïf and Le Jeune.

#### The Musicians of the Academy

On one of his birthdays between the years 1582-1585, Baïf wrote a poem inviting his companions to rejoice with him. In this poem that was preserved by Mersenne, Baïf names, in what seems to be a chronological order, the musicians of the Academy.

Compagnons, fêtons ce jour où je naquis  
 Dans le sein des flots Adriens: et chantons  
 Quelque chant plaisant qui après mille ans soit  
                   Encore chanté.  
 Jour natal marqué de Baïf, qui laissa  
 Les chemins frayés, et premier découvrit  
 Un nouveau sentier, à la France montra  
                   L'antique chanson.

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<sup>1</sup>Frances A. Yates, "Poésie et musique dans les 'Magnificences' au mariage du duc de Joyeuse, Paris, 1581," in Musique et poésie au XVIe siècle (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954), pp. 241-264.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter V, pp. 114-117.



Quand, d'en haut poussé, de Thibaut s'accosta,  
 Chantre et compositeur qui premier devant tous,  
 En la danse après et Du Faur et Claudin,

Osèrent entrer.

Faur, qui son doux luth maniait savamment,  
 Claudin, au bel art de la musique instruit,  
 Ont d'accords choisis honoré de ses vers

Les mesurés chants.

Las! Thibaut n'est plus: et Du Faur davant lui  
 Nous quitta, laissant nos ouvrages naissants.  
 Puissent les enfants de Thibaut et Claudin

L'ouvrage accomplir.

Mais voici Mauduit à la Muse bien duit,  
 Doux de moeurs et doux à mener le conchant,  
 Des accords suivis brève et longue marquant  
 D'un bal agencé.<sup>1</sup>

Joachim Thibault de Courville's association with Baïf

dates back before the foundation of the Academy. The Letters Patent state that they had been working "assiduellement" for three years, which would date this collaboration from about 1567. Very little is known about this musician's life, and still less about his music since only a few of his works are extant; eight airs à quatre in a collection by Caietain Fabrice (1576), who at one time was his student, five airs in the fifth and sixth books of the Airs of Claude Le Jeune (1608). Apart from that, he would have set some, if not all, of Baïf's Pseaumes en vers mesurez, for the poet Vauquelin de la Fresnaye writes:

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<sup>1</sup>From Marin Mersenne, Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim . . . , quaest. 57. col. 1686, as quoted by Paul-Marie Masson, "Le Mouvement humaniste," p. 1305.



Les chants et les accords, qui vous ont contenté,  
Sire, en oyant si bien un Daniel rechanté  
De Baïf et Courville; O que peut une lyre  
Mariant à la voix le son et le bien dire.<sup>1</sup>

Until recently, the date of his death was not known, but in 1959 his "inventaire après décès," was found and it reveals interesting information on his life as well as the precise date of his death.<sup>2</sup>

He was married in Paris on the 14th of January, 1556, to Catherine Jacquet, by whom he had at least four sons. His residence was on the "Rue Beaubourg, sur Saint-Nicholas des Champs." It is there that he kept his library, which at the time of his death, contained only nineteen books of music. What is more surprising is that for a musician who, according to Augé-Chiquet, was more of a "singer and player of the lyre than a composer," no instruments at all were found in his home. He also owned a house outside Paris, on the Island of Galland, near the town of Moysiel. The King (Henri III) apparently gave him this property, for a very low sum of money ("un cens très réduit"), after its proprietor had died.<sup>3</sup> The co-founder of the Academy however, did not die in either of these two houses. The inventory informs us that de Courville died on the 8th

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<sup>1</sup>Art Poétique Français, (Caen, 1605) line 577-580, as quoted by Walker, Thesis, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup>François Lesure, "Sur Thibault de Courville," in Revue de Musicologie, XLIV (July 1959), pp. 100-101.

<sup>3</sup>Here is a fine example as reported by Colletet, of the favors accorded by the King to the founders of the Academy. See above, p. 29.



of September, 1581 "in a room de galletas in a house sited at Saint-Marcel, on the mount between the Portes Bordelle et de Saint-Victor, at the sign of the Red Hat," which was occupied by the nobleman, Jehan Antoine de Baïf, notary councilor of the King.

The second musician which Baïf mentions is Jacques du Faur, of whom practically nothing is known. St. Macary<sup>1</sup> informs us that in 1568 he was a cleric for the diocese of Toulouse, and obtained a Bachelor's degree in Law from the University of Paris. In February of 1574 he became the abbé du Faget. His dates of birth and death are unknown. He must have worked with Baïf and de Courville sometime between 1568 and 1573. In 1573 Baïf dedicated to him his églogue Les Sorcières<sup>2</sup> and wrote a sonnet for him in which he mentions that:

Puis que, du Faur, ton retour s'apareille,  
 Nous n'orons plus tes musiques douceurs,  
 Plus de ton lut les doux son ravisseurs<sup>3</sup>  
 N'envoleront nos esprits par l'oreille.

Finally, Jacques du Faur, Baïf's lute player, must not be confused with Guy de Pibrac, his cousin,<sup>4</sup> who became the director of the Académie du Palais under Henri III.

Claude Le Jeune was probably the most prominent composer of the sixteenth century to work as a musician of the Academy. He was born in Valenciennes around 1530, and though he was a well trained

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<sup>1</sup>Généalogie de la maison du Faur (Toulouse: d'Ecos et Olivier, 1907), pp. 179-180.

<sup>2</sup>Euvres en rimes, ed. cit., III, 29.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., IV, p. 347.

<sup>4</sup>See Augé-Chiquet, Baïf, p. 402.



musician, his musical education remains entirely unknown. In 1554 he published four songs in Louvain, and ten years later he was living in Paris. His association with Baïf seems to date from the beginnings of the Academy, for Baïf refers to him as "le docte Claudin" in a sonnet published in 1570, prefacing the Musique of Guillaume Costeley. He probably remained associated with Baïf until the latter's death in 1589. During this time he wrote a vast quantity of musique mesurée, along with many other compositions in contemporary sixteenth-century style.<sup>1</sup>

In February of 1582, he became maître de musique for the King's brother, François, duc d'Anjou. He probably accompanied him on a trip to the Netherlands where his Livre des Meslanges was published by Plantin at Anvers in 1585. The reprinting of this work by Le Roy-Ballard the following year, 1586, and again in 1587, attests to the popularity of Le Jeune's music. It was at that time also that he established himself as one of the outstanding composers of the French Renaissance. As pointed out by Walker and Lesure<sup>2</sup>--when comparing three successive editions of Le Roy-Ballard's Vingt quatrième libre d'airs et chansons, 1583, 1585, and 1587;--in the last two the title is changed from "de plusieurs excelens auteurs,"

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<sup>1</sup>For more details on his life and his works see D. P. Walker and François Lesure, "Claude Le Jeune and Musique Mesurée," in Musica Disciplina III (1950), 151-170.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 157-158.



to "Orlande de Lassus et Claude Le Jeune." In the 1585 and 1587 editions of the Vincinquième Livre, published by the same firm, this is even more evident; the usual title "par Orlande de Lassus et autres. . ." is replaced by "par Orlande de Lassus et Claude Le Jeune."

After the death of his Protestant protector, François d'Anjou, in 1584, Le Jeune remained in Paris until 1590, serving other protestant patrons such as François de la Noue and the Duc de Bouillon, Vicomte de Turenne. During this time he taught François' son, Odet de la Noue, the principles of music, and in dedicating his Dodecacorde to Turenne, he calls himself the latter's "domestique."

During the Siege of Paris in 1590, Mersenne narrates how Le Jeune escaped imprisonment with the help of Jacques Mauduit. The latter also saved Le Jeune's Dodecacorde from destruction. Le Jeune apparently took refuge in the town of La Rochelle until the entry of Henri IV into Paris in 1594. That year he published his first complete collection of musique mesurée. Somewhat later he entered the service of King Henri IV, for in his Dodecacorde, published in La Rochelle in 1598, the title of "Compositeur de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy" is assigned to him. He died in Paris in September, 1600.

Most of his musique mesurée, which will be discussed in a later chapter, was published posthumously (1601-1612) by his sister, Cécile Le Jeune and his niece, Judith Mardo. There are several reasons why so little of his musique mesurée was published during



his lifetime. A possible reason suggested by Masson<sup>1</sup> is that he was following a rule of the Academy which stipulated that no chansons of the Academy could be published without the consent of all its members. It is significant that the first collection of musique mesurée ever to be published was Mauduit's Chansonnettes mesurées in 1586, one year after the closing of the Academy. A more plausible reason is given by Le Jeune himself, in the dedication of his Livre des Meslanges of 1585; it was because of "l'injure du temps," evidently caused by the wars of religion. However, the long list of posthumous publications, re-editions, and reprints of his works provide strong evidence of the popularity of his music, and may account for the vogue of musique mesurée at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Jacques Mauduit was the last musician to have worked in close collaboration with Baïf and the Academy. Born in Paris on the 16th of September, 1557, he spent his youth studying the humanities and philosophy at the Collège Royal. After several journeys in Italy, Spain and the northern countries, he dedicated himself to music which he studied mainly from books. Meanwhile he exercised the office of "garde du dépost des Requests du Palais," a small office inherited from his father. He later became Secretary to the Queen. The date of his first association with Baïf and the Academy is not known. Since he was only fourteen when the Academy

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<sup>1</sup>Le Mouvement humaniste, pp. 1304-5.



began it has been suggested that he might have been one of the choir boys. This is quite unlikely for then he would surely have studied music with Le Jeune or de Courville, but Mersenne tells us that he learned music "sans autre secours que des livres."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, if Baïf's poem, mentioned earlier, enumerates the musicians in the order in which they entered the service of the Academy--and there is no reason to think otherwise--Mauduit would have joined the musicians of the Academy after the death of Thibault in September, 1581. This would have given him an eight-year period of collaboration with Baïf.

According to Mersenne, Mauduit's creative output was quite considerable: "Masses, Vespers, Hymns, Motets, Fantasies, Songs and other pieces of his which the storms of the age will prevent from seeing the light for a while."<sup>2</sup> What remains of this music are the Chansonnettes mesurées, published in 1586 and again in 1588, a fragment of a Requiem Mass, seven settings of Baïf's Pseaumes en vers mesurez, six sacred and three secular pieces, one of which is an "air de ballet." Discussion of Mauduit's musique mesurée will also be reserved for a later chapter.

As mentioned earlier, Sauval states that after Baïf's death in 1589, Mauduit transferred the Academy to his own home. André Verchaly states that he then gave the sessions of the Academy,

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<sup>1</sup>Mersenne, Harmonie Universelle, (Paris: 1636; facs. reprints, Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963), Livre VII, 68.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.



un caractère plus musical que littéraire, en développant surtout les moyens d'exécution (dialogue, chœurs, récits de voix, instruments et voix ensemble): dès lors, sa renommée ne cessa grandir. Sa participation aux cérémonies de la semaine sainte du Petit-Saint-Antoine, aux grandes fêtes musicales de Notre-Dame en l'honneur de Sainte-Cécile, ainsi qu'aux ballets de cour des règnes d'Henri IV et de Louis XIII, ne se borna pas à composer mais aussi à diriger de grands ensembles, comme celui du Ballet de la délivrance de Renaud (1617), auquel il avait collaboré avec Guédron, Bataille et Boësset, qui comportait 92 voix et plus de 45 instruments.<sup>1</sup>

He had made elaborate plans for another Academy but they were discontinued with his death in August, 1627.

Two more names should probably be added to the list of musicians who were associated with Baïf's Academy, and who would have collaborated with him. First, Guillaume Costeley, "organiste et valet de chambre" to King Charles IX. In 1570, Baïf wrote two sonnets at the beginning of Costeley's Musique, where he describes Costeley as a collaborator:

Soyent tes chants, Costeley, l'avant jeu gratieus.  
Des nombres anciens qu'avec toi j'ay courage  
Pour un siècle meilleur de remettre en usage,<sup>2</sup>  
Si n'en suis detourné par la force des cieus.

Though none of his musique mesurée is extant--and it is not certain that he wrote any--it might be significant that Costeley published in his Musique of 1570, a rather unusual chromatic work called

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<sup>1</sup>André Verchaly, "Jacques Mauduit," in Encyclopédie de la musique, ed. by François Michel, (Paris: Fasquelle, 1961), III, 47-48.

<sup>2</sup>See M. M. de la R. F. III, xix.



Seigneur Dieu ta pitié.<sup>1</sup> Though this chanson dates back to 1558, it is an indication that Costeley was interested in chromatic experiments and that he could have been one of the composers of the Academy experimenting with this new genre.<sup>2</sup>

The second musician who may have been a collaborator of Baïf and his Academy was Gilbert de Beaulieu (not Lambert Beaulieu<sup>3</sup>), who composed the music for the Ballet Comique de la Reine (1581). There are two main reasons to support this conjecture. First, Caietain Fabrice, in the dedication of his Air mis en Musique states that

. . . and since I am of a foreign country (Italy) and of a foreign language and that I could fail in setting properly the airs to the letter of the French language. . . I went to the school of the Messieurs de Courville and Beaulieu. . . for they are not only excellent at singing with the lyre, but they are also learned in the art of music and perfect in the composition of airs. . . Following their observations and their suggestions, I corrected most of the errors that I had made with respect to the longs and the shorts of the text.<sup>4</sup>

This does not only associate Beaulieu with de Courville but brings them together as collaborators in one school. Secondly, the homophonic songs of the Ballet Comique de la Reine, "except that they

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<sup>1</sup>This song is reprinted and studied extensively by Kenneth Jay Levy, "Costeley's Chromatic Chanson" in Annales de Musicologie, III (1955), 213-263.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 248; also Walker, Aims, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup>See Frances A. Yates, "Dramatic religious processions, in Paris in the late sixteenth century," in Annales Musicologiques, II (1954), 252.

<sup>4</sup>The author has translated from the French text quoted by D.P. Walker, "The Influence of Musique Mesurée à l'antique, particularly on the Airs de Cours of the Early Seventeenth Century," in Musica Disciplina, II (1947), 144.



lack regular poetic metre. . . , are undistinguishable from musique mesurée,"<sup>1</sup> as will be explained in Chapter V.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, Beaulieu knew and applied the principles of musique mesurée which were, at that time, practiced almost exclusively at the Academy. Yates believes that he "almost certainly" was a member of Baïf's Academy, while Prunières and the Encyclopédie de la musique repeat the same contention, but with certainty.<sup>3</sup>

Finally there are four composers who were not associated with Baïf's Academy, but should perhaps be mentioned since they composed some musique mesurée. The celebrated Orlando de Lassus has honored one of Baïf's chanson mesurée, "Une puce j'ai de dans l'oreille," by setting it to musique mesurée. Fabrice Marin Caietain, whom we have just mentioned, is an example of a composer of earlier musique mesurée. Both Nicolas de la Grotte and Eustache du Courroy could be called converts to musique mesurée. It is known that Le Jeune and La Grotte had composed some music for the festivities of the Marriage of the Duc de Joyeuse, in 1581. It is significant that soon after this La Grotte published four chansons mesurées.<sup>4</sup> As for du Courroy, the Works of the French poet, Agrippa D'Aubigné,<sup>5</sup> contain

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>2</sup>p. 114.

<sup>3</sup>See Yates, French Academies, p. 238; and also Encyclopédie de la Musique, ed. cit., I, 362; Prunières, Ballet de Cours, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup>These are listed in Walker and Lesure, "Claude Le Jeune," p. 159, note 73.

<sup>5</sup>Oeuvres, ed. E. Réaume and F. de Caussade (Paris, 1873-92).



the circumstances of his conversion to musique mesurée. Walker reports this story as follows:

In 1605 Eustache du Courroy, "Maître de la Musique de la Chapelle du Roy," was directing a concert given in honour of D'Aubigné by "le sieur Pajot." More than a hundred singers, chosen from the best executants in Paris, performed various works, and, when the audience were beginning to become slightly somnolent, regained their attention and enthusiasm by two psalms in vers mesurés set by Le Jeune. Du Courroy, who had previously disliked vers mesurés, was immediately converted and began to try his hand at setting them. . .<sup>1</sup>

Du Courroy's Meslanges, which contains twenty-three chansons mesurées, was published posthumously in 1610. These will also be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

In conclusion we may say that the Académie de poésie et de musique, which was founded by Baïf and de Courville, received royal approval from Charles IX in November, 1570. In spite, initially, of severe opposition from Parliament and the University, the Academy was active for fifteen years, thanks to strong royal support. It came to a close in 1585, probably because of financial difficulties and because of the outbreak of the wars of religion. Baïf's Academy was not supplanted by the Académie du Palais under Henri III, but was an extension of it.

The immediate aims of the Academy, the cultivation of vers et musique mesurés, were realized, but its activities extended

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<sup>1</sup>Walker and Lesure, "Claude Le Jeune," pp. 163-164.



to rhetoric and philosophical discussions, and possibly to experiments in musical drama, ballet mesuré and the correct use of the genera.

The Academy was rigidly organized to assure its proper functioning. Its members consisted of auditors who financed it and musicians who maintained its cultural activities. Baif's musical collaborators were de Courville, Du Faur, Le Jeune and Mauduit. To these may be added the names of Beaulieu and Costeley. Lassus, Fabrice, de la Grotte and du Courroy also contributed significant compositions in musique mesurée, though they were not directly associated with the Academy.



### CHAPTER III

#### MUSICAL HUMANISM: THE THEORETICAL ASPECT OF MUSIQUE MESUREE

Whether or not the music of antiquity could have had an influence at all on the music of the sixteenth century is a question that has been raised earlier in this century.<sup>1</sup> In the case of plastic arts such as sculpture and architecture, the Renaissance artists who were enthusiastic about returning to the antique had surviving examples of classical art to imitate. But in the art of music practically no examples of ancient music have survived and even today the theory of ancient music cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Musical humanists were then obliged to speculate as to what ancient music was like, and as to how its effects were produced. However, because of the abundant references to music in classical literature, musical humanists have been able to form a sufficiently clear (and complete) conception of ancient music so that it was possible for composers to have been influenced by it.<sup>2</sup> The composers of musique mesurée were amongst the many Renaissance musicians who were influenced by

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<sup>1</sup>Theodor Kroyer, "Zwischen Renaissance und Baroque," in Jahrbuch des Musikbibliothek Peters für 1927, XXXIV (1928), 49.

<sup>2</sup>D. P. Walker has studied this question extensively in "Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," in The Music Review, II, 2 (1941), 1-121; II, 3, (1941), 220-227; II, 4, (1941), 288-308; and III, 1, (1942), 55-71. Walker based his study on the works of Gafori, Glareanus, Vicentino, Tyard, Salinas, Zarlino, Galilei, Mei, Artusi, Cerone, Bergier, Doni, and Mersenne.



musical humanism. Since they left little or no records of their theories, it is important to a sound understanding of their ideas and their music, to study the humanistic theories and concepts of ancient music on which their ideas and the principles of their music were based. This chapter is restricted to the theories relating directly or indirectly to musique mesurée.

### The Revival of Ancient Music

Sixteenth-century humanists all arrived at the same general conception of ancient music. But there were important details on which they disagreed. Moreover, they also had different opinions regarding the degree to which they wished to reform modern music on the model of ancient music. Gafori, Artusi, Salinas and Cerone were satisfied with the music of their time and did not wish to reform it. Their interest in ancient music was a scholarly one. Tyard, Galilei, Mei and Doni maintained that modern music was inferior to ancient music and they hoped to revive the ancient art as completely as possible. Glareanus, Vicentino, Zarlino and Mersenne held a moderate view; modern music was inferior to ancient music in certain respects only, and even though certain reforms were desirable, yet in many ways, modern music had excelled the ancient. This helps to understand how two humanists such as Galilei and Zarlino, who advocated very different styles, could nevertheless have arrived at much the same conception of ancient music.



### The Union of Poetry and Music

The close union of poetry and music in classical times was an important point of difference between ancient and modern music, and one for which the sixteenth-century humanists showed great concern. According to classical writers such as Plato, Plutarch and Quintilian there seemed to be no distinction between poetry and music. Plato openly disapproves of the separation of music and verse.<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, on the other hand, states that epic and didactic poetry were recited without music, while lyric and dramatic poetry were still inseparable from music. It is not surprising therefore to find dramatic and lyric poetry being set to music by the composers of musique mesurée and by the musicians of the Florentine camerata, while Baïf and his followers wrote, without being inconsistent, some vers mesurés which were not intended to be sung. In any case, from a humanistic point of view, the union between dramatic and lyric poetry and music was to be as close as possible:

In dealing with the union of these two arts, the question of priority of one over the other was inevitable. Theories and practices of the sixteenth-century Renaissance favored poetry over music. There was no question of the musician dictating to the poet, but quite the contrary as may be clearly seen in musique mesurée where the rhythm of the music is completely subjected to the meter of the verse. This subjection of music to verse however, was not a

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<sup>1</sup>See Walker, Music Review, II, 2, 7-8, where he quotes these classical writers:



necessary consequence of the belief in the ancient union of music and poetry. In fact, it did not have a really sound basis in classical literature and the opposite view could have been equally acceptable. Why then, did the humanists favor poetry over music? The answer to this question points out another striking difference between ancient and modern music, and leads to the core of sixteenth-century humanism--the "effects."

### The Theory of the Effects

While sixteenth-century music had been an art which generally soothed and delighted the listener, ancient music seemed to have been a powerful and ethical force, capable of producing almost miraculous "effects"<sup>1</sup> on the body and soul of the listener. Now the easiest and most common way of explaining and obtaining these effects was to presume that they were largely caused by the text. The humanists knew that through convincing speeches and picturesque descriptions or narrations it was possible to influence man's ideas, his passions and his conduct. Therefore, if they would employ the same means, that is strong, moving and poignant language and intensify it with the less definite emotional powers of melody and rhythm, then the effects should be obtained. Moreover, they would appear much less miraculous and quite normal and natural, as in ancient times. Since this subjection of music to text served not only as a means of explaining the effects but also as the most important practical way of

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<sup>1</sup>It is according to this meaning that the term "effect" will be used in this thesis.



reviving them in modern music, it will be discussed in more detail below.

Not all humanists however, believed in the effects or wished to revive them. Most members of La Pléiade, for example, in their imitation of classical music, were quite content to bring serious music and poetry closer together. But for more enthusiastic humanists such as Baïf, Tyard, Galilei or Merсенne, the desire to revive the ethical power of music became the driving force behind their theories and practices.

Revival of the effects however, presupposed belief in them, and in this respect, a diversity of opinions ranging from obstinate skepticism to passionate faith was notable amongst musical humanists. Merсенne describes two kinds of skeptics: the rare ones like Le Loyer who completely denied all the effects of ancient music, and others like Vicentino who believed in the effects but explained them by the apparent stupidity and crudeness of the Greeks. At the other extreme, humanists like Baïf and Merсенne believed passionately in the ethical and emotional powers of music. In support of his convictions, for example, Merсенne quoted indisputable authorities such as Plato and Aristotle. The majority of musical humanists took a mid-way position between these two extremes. The historical truth concerning most of the effects of ancient music was almost universally recognized. A typical representative of this group was Zarlino who reproached contemporary musicians for being unable to reproduce the effects.



In an attempt to prove the possibility of ancient effects, several writers gave examples of similar effects produced by modern music. These have apparently been used as strong arguments against skeptics like Vicentino. Probably the most widespread of these accounts was the curious story about the music of Claude Le Jeune, the leading composer of musique mesurée, which is quoted here in its earliest version.

I have sometimes heard it said of the Sieur Claudin Le Jeune (who has far surpassed. . . the musicians of former ages in the understanding of these modes) that he composed in parts an air which was sung at the magnificent fêtes which took place on the occasion of the marriage of the late Duc de Joyeuse. . . and that when this air was rehearsed at a private concert it caused a gentleman who was present to put his hand to his arms, loudly swearing the while that he could not refrain himself from fighting someone, and that when they began to sing another air in the Sub-Phrygian mode he grew tranquil as before. I have had this since confirmed by some of those who were present on that occasion. Such is the force and power over the mind of the modulation and movement of voices joined together.<sup>1</sup>

According to Titelouze, writing to Mersenne in 1622, the music which had been performed was musique mesurée.<sup>2</sup>

Although the historical authenticity of these accounts may be questioned, they reveal nevertheless, a common belief not only in the ancient effects, but also in the possibility of reproducing them in modern music. In fact the main concern of most humanists in

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<sup>1</sup>Philostrate de la Vie d'Apollonius Thyane. . . enrichie d'amples Commentaires par Artus Thomas, Sieur d'Embry (Paris, 1611), I, p. 282, as quoted by Yates, French Academies, p. 59. Walker quotes four other examples in The Music Review, II, 3 (1941), 113-114.

<sup>2</sup>See Mersenne, Correspondance, published by Mme. Paul Tannery and ed. by Cornelis de Waard and R. Pintard, I, (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 1945), p. 75. See also below, p. 116.



reviving ancient music was to reproduce these effects or at least to strengthen the ethical and emotional power of music. In the case of Baïf and his followers this is verified through the documents relating to the foundation of the Academy and through Mersenne's testimony.<sup>1</sup>

### The Means of Reviving the Effects

The crucial problem now was how to revive the effects.

Three ways were suggested by the humanists: First, by reintroducing the practical uses of the chromatic and enharmonic genera, and by the reformation of intonation; secondly, by reviving the correct use of the modes; thirdly, the subjection of music to the text.

The Renaissance humanists generally believed that the ancients used the chromatic and enharmonic genera, but they disagreed as to what importance the genera had in reviving the effects. Consequently they also disagreed in recommending their use in modern music.

Zarlino and Mersenne maintained that the genera were of little importance in producing the effects, while Tyard and the rest of the Italians believed that, without the two genera, the effects were impossible. There is some evidence that the composers of Baïf's Academy experimented in the use of the genera, but their attempts apparently were unsuccessful and were never printed.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter II, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup>See Yates, French Academies, pp. 46-47.



As for the reforming of intonation, it would have suffered the same fate as that of the genera, producing a great polemic and a vast theoretical literature, but no practical results.

On the second means of reviving the effects--by the correct use of the modes--the humanists fell into total disagreement. This time however, the differences did not rest on the importance of the modes in producing the effects. On the contrary, all the humanists had a firm belief, based on classical literature, that a certain ethos was attached to the various modes and that their correct use, therefore, was essential, theoretically at least, in obtaining various effects. For example the Dorian mode was considered apt in inducing stability and sobriety, while the Phrygian was capable of arousing passions or enthusiasm for a noble cause.

The main point of difference laid in the correct identification of the modes. The mode that Vicentino and Tyard considered to be Phrygian, Zarlino and Mersenne believed to be Lydian, whereas Galilei, Mei and Doni identified it as Dorian. Furthermore, there seemed to have been contradictions even amongst classical writers with regard to this point. All this brought about such a confusion that Zarlino apparently gave up all hopes of identifying the ancient modes with certainty. This general confusion is noticeable in the various narrations of the effects of modern music mentioned earlier. In Le Loyer's story, the King was aroused to a state of anger by the Phrygian mode, while in Bergier's account, this same mode appeased



the gentleman that was up in arms.<sup>1</sup>

As for the composers of musique mesurée, it is difficult to ascertain how they reacted to this mass of confusion. Mersenne supplies external evidence that Mauduit composed some music according to the former's theory of the modes.<sup>2</sup> As for Claude Le Jeune, the dedication of his Dodecacorde indicates that he did not attempt to assign Greek names to the modes he used because of the diversity of opinions about such names. But there is documented evidence suggesting that Le Jeune and possibly Du Courroy would have followed Zarlino's system.<sup>3</sup>

At any rate, this would seem to have been of little consequence for, as Walker says,

The question of modes, like that of the genera and intonation, is largely of theoretical interest and has little musical importance. The treatment of the modes in musique mesurée or in early Italian monody is in practice whatever the theories of the composers may have been, indistinguishable from that of any other contemporary music. And in the latter as Galilei so bitterly complained, it is impossible, owing to the use of accidentals and the number of parts, to tell one mode from another except by the final chord.<sup>4</sup>

As an explanation of the effects this subjection of music to text is almost completely a priori with very few classical authorities supporting it. The ethical power of ancient music, as we

<sup>1</sup>See Walker, The Music Review, II, 3, 111-114.

<sup>2</sup>Marin Mersenne, Questiones celeberrimae in Genesim . . ., 57, XIV, as quoted by Walker, The Music Review, II, 3, 225.

<sup>3</sup>Lesure and Walker, "Claude Le Jeune," p. 167.

<sup>4</sup>The Music Review, III, 3, 226.



have seen, rested principally with the text, which was reinforced by rhythm and melody.

As a means of reviving the effects, the subjection of music to text involved prorogatively certain theories and precepts which all aimed at ensuring three things in a song: the vivid expression of the text; the preservation of its rhythm; its audibility.

For the first of these considerations classical authorities offered very little guidance; only a few quotations from Plato and Aristotle which spoke of music as a representative art.<sup>1</sup> There were two ways by which music could be made representational: first, through word painting, whereby single words or phrases are individually expressed in the music, or secondly, by expressing the general mood of the text, leaving the performer to imitate through gestures, tone of voice and facial expressions, the ethea and passions as found in the text.

The majority of humanists were not in favor of the word-painting technique, which may account for the lack of purely musical expressiveness by composers of musique mesurée such as Le Jeune and Mauduit.<sup>2</sup> According to Mersenne, this lack of word painting was to be compensated for by a dramatic style of performance, even in choral singing, through the proper use of gestures and a very expressive use of the voice.<sup>3</sup> Even more moderate humanists such as Zarlino,

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<sup>1</sup>These passages are quoted by Walker, The Music Review, II, 1, 12.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter IV, pp.57-100.

<sup>3</sup>See Walker, The Music Review, II, 4, 292.



Vicentino and Cerone, who approved of musical descriptions of individual words or ideas, admitted, within reasonable limits, the use of gestures and facial expression in performances. All, without exception, agreed that the musical setting must be as fully and vividly expressive of its text as possible.

The second consideration in subjecting music to text is the preservation of the rhythm of the text, a norm which would have been part of any humanists's belief, even though it had nothing to do with the effects. It is a fact that classical writers such as Terentianus Maurus, Marius Victorinus, or St. Augustine, referred to musical rhythm in terms of metrical feet and "time" (tempus). Consequently in reading them the humanists took for granted, as a self-evident truth, in spite of some important evidence to the contrary, that musical and poetic rhythm were identical.

Most humanists, and particularly Galilei and Tyard, also believed that a syllable could have only one of two quantities: a long or a short, the long being twice the value of the short. This seemed so evident and axiomatic because of the extensive evidence in classical literature that they did not hesitate to accept this "long-equals-two-short" (— = ∪ ∪) rule as another principle in setting text to music. As Quintilian had said, "Longam syllabam esse duorum temporum, brevem unius, etiam pueri sciunt."<sup>1</sup> (Even children know that a long syllable has two beats ("times") while the short syllable receives one.)

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<sup>1</sup>De Institutionis Oratoriae, IV, iv, as quoted by Walker, The Music Review, II, 4, 300.



However, there was some evidence which contradicted these two assumptions and three humanists mentioned it. Mersenne quotes Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>1</sup> who clearly states that not only did the two rhythms exist separately but that sometimes the musicians made long syllables short and short ones long. Salinas and Bergier cite passages from Marius Victorinus and Quintilian which can be reconciled with the general principle of subjection of music to text, for they simply bring a flexibility to the — = ∪ ∪ rule in suggesting that the proportion of the long to the short be varied, provided that the short be shorter than the long and the long, longer than the short. Salinas and Mersenne adopted this view, for as Mersenne said, composers "ne sont pas obligez de faire toutes les syllables longues d'une mesme longueur, car ils peuvent donner le temps d'une crochue aux syllables longues, pourveu que dans une mesme mesure ou diction, ils usent des notes d'un moindre temps sur les syllables briefves."<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious that these theories influenced musique mesurée. Most of musique mesurée was composed according to the Galilei-Tyard view of musical and poetic rhythm, that is, the strict application of the — = ∪ ∪ rule. However, Thibault de Courville, Fabrice Marin Caietain and Lassus departed from this strict rule in their musique mesurée, as will be shown later,<sup>3</sup> and followed the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., note 182.

<sup>2</sup>Harmonie Universelle, Livre VI, xviii, p. 377.

<sup>3</sup>See Chapter IV, pp. 92-94.



principle adopted by Salinas and Mersenne as described in the passage just quoted. These departures from the former strict rule were not a revolt against Baïf, but an experiment which was quite in keeping with the theories on which the movement was based, and which had quite a solid support from classical authorities.

Now how does this preservation of the rhythm of the text relate ultimately with the reviving of the effects? First it is quite clear that if the rhythm of the music was the same as that of the text, the musical rhythm would consequently observe the natural accents, stresses, and quantities of the text, thus rendering it much more intelligible to the listener. This was essential if he was to be impressed with the most important element of the musical setting, the words. Secondly, it was believed that a certain ethos was attached to the rhythm of each meter, so that it was also of primary importance that the music reproduce as closely as possible the rhythmic patterns of the text. But it was considerably more difficult to systematize these ethoses of meter than it had been to classify the modes. This perhaps explains, in spite of their apparent importance in producing the effects, the humanists' reluctance to discuss them in their writings.

The third and last of these considerations in subjecting music to text, the audibility of the text, remains to be discussed. Admittedly, most of the imitative-style polyphonic music of the sixteenth century tended to obscure the audibility of the text, especially when many voices were used. The humanists naturally



objected strongly to this. They suggested replacing the complex polyphony with two styles<sup>1</sup> that would assure the audibility of the text and increase its intelligibility: monody and homophony.

Most humanists of the time who believed that ancient music had been monodic, naturally favored monody, especially if they were of the group who believed that ancient music possessed all qualities and modern music none. The more moderate ones, such as Zarlino, who though he believed ancient music to have been monodic, nevertheless favored homophony. He was convinced that harmony, which the Greeks did not know, was a great advancement in modern music and should be retained. The musicians of musique mesurée had much the same view, as can be observed from the Preface to Claude Le Jeune's Le Printemps:

Les Antiens qui ont traité de la Musique l'ont diuisee en deux parties, Harmonique, et Rythmique: l'une consistant en l'assamblage proportionné des sons graves, et aigus, l'autre des temps briefz et longs. L'Harmonique a esté si peu cogneue d'eux, qu'ils ne se sont seruis d'autres consonances que de l'octaue, la quinte, et la quarte: dont ils composoyent un certain accord sur la Lyre, au son duquel ils chantoient leurs vers. La Rythmique au contraire a esté mise par eux en telle perfection, qu'ils en ont fait des effects merueilleux: esmouuans par icelle les ames des hommes à telles passions qu'ils vouloient. . . Depuis, cette Rythmique a esté tellement negligee, qu'elle s'est perdue du tout, et l'Harmonique depuis deux cens ans si exactement recherchee qu'elle s'est rendue parfaite, faisant de beaux et grands effects, mais non telz que ceux que l'antiquité raconte. Ce qui a donné occasion de s'estonner à plusieurs, veu que les antiens ne chantoient qu'à une voix, et que nous auons la melodie de

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<sup>1</sup> Walker mentions a third, "faux-bourdon" style, but since it is irrelevant to musique mesurée it is not discussed here. See Walker, The Music Review, II, 4, 306.



plusieurs voix ensemble: dont quelques uns ont (peut estre) descouuert la cause: mais personne ne s'est trouue pour y apporter remede, iusques à Claudin le Jeune, qui s'est le premier enhardy de retirer ceste pauvre Rythmique du tombeau ou elle avoit esté si long temps gisant, pour l'aparier à l'Harmonique. . . Car l'Harmonique seulle avec ses agreables consonances peut bien arrester en admiration vraye les esprits plus subtils: mais la Rythmique venant à les animer, peut animer aussi, mouuoir, mener ou il luy plait par la douce violence de ses mouuenens réglés, toute ame pour rude et grossiere qu'elle soit.<sup>1</sup>

In this preface it is suggested that the Greeks sang to a three-note drone. Walker states that only one writer of this period, Zarlino, mentions the same conjecture, but that the evidence on which this theory is based is so insufficient that it is unlikely the author of the preface to Le Printemps would have independently made the same deductions. He suggests therefore that the views of the musicians of musique mesurée in this respect was probably attributable to Zarlino's influence.

Among the many theories proposed by the musical humanists on the question of monody and homophony, two are relevant to musique mesurée and must be mentioned.

The first, upheld by Mei, and which Walker conveniently terms "the cancelling-out theory,"<sup>2</sup> maintains that high and low sounds, and quick and slow rhythms, when heard simultaneously, cancel

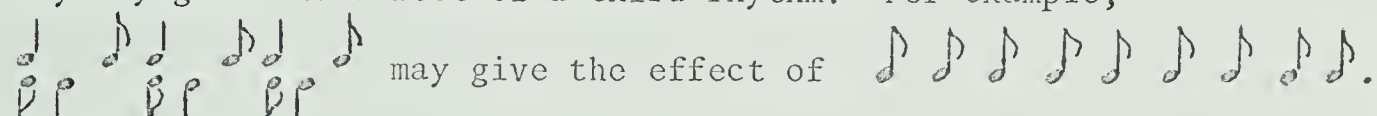

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<sup>1</sup>Claude Le Jeune, Le Printemps, (Paris: 1603), reprinted as Vol. XII of M.M. de la R.F., no pagination. The author of the preface is unknown. See Appendix, p.141 for an English translation.

<sup>2</sup>The Music Review, III, 1, 63.



each other out. This supposition could have some truth with regard to the rhythm, for if two complementary rhythms are heard simultaneously they may give the effect of a third rhythm. For example,

 may give the effect of 

But with reference to pitch, this theory would probably be rejected by any practical musician who would hear the two sounds, not only separately but as a chord. Doni is of the latter opinion, but he modifies his position as far as rhythm is concerned and allows composers to use different rhythms simultaneously provided that one is only a clear derivation of the other. For example, against the rhythm  could be sung simultaneously  or  but not . Since this corresponds exactly to the practices of the musicians of musique mesurée,<sup>1</sup> their views on the cancelling out theory were probably the same as Doni's.

The second of these theories, described by Walker as "musical puritanism,"<sup>2</sup> was advanced by Galilei. He held that the main function of music was to influence the listener morally and emotionally.<sup>3</sup> In a musical setting the text was best able to do this, in keeping with the general belief of the humanists as we have seen, and therefore the music must be completely subservient to it.

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter IV, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup>Walker, The Music Review, III, 1, 63.

<sup>3</sup>The core of this theory can be supported by the musical aesthetics of Plato and Aristotle, but the details and practical conclusions owe much to the speculations of Galilei. See Walker, The Music Review, III, 1, 63-67.



Furthermore, if the music, by its beauty brought any pleasure to the listener, it was harmful in achieving its goal, because this "dilette dell'undito" was non-intellectual, sensuous, and above all it distracted the listener from the text, thus preventing him from being influenced morally and emotionally. Since this musical attitude may have been generally widespread<sup>1</sup> its influence may account for the simplicity and the austerity of some musique mesurée, particularly that of Jacques Mauduit.<sup>2</sup>

In summary, it may be said that the humanistic theories on which the principles of musique mesurée were based, centered around two main assumptions: first, that poetry and music must be closely united, as practiced in antiquity; secondly, that this union, if brought about properly, was capable of producing effects similar to the ones obtained by ancient music. The latter was made possible by reviving the use of the genera and the proper use of the modes, but principally by creating musical settings which were completely subjected to the text, highly expressive of it, in a style that would obscure neither its metrical rhythm nor its intelligibility.

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<sup>1</sup>This theory is reflected in Calvin's view of harmonized music. See Waldo S. Pratt, The Music of the French Psalter of 1562 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 65; also François Lesure, Musicians and Poets in the French Renaissance (New York: Merlin, 1955), pp. 44-45.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter IV, pp. 97-100.



## CHAPTER IV

### MUSIQUE MESUREE

#### The Principles of Musique mesurée

Most musique mesurée was based on two complementary principles, one pertaining to rhythm and the other to style. These were both deeply rooted in the humanistic theories of the sixteenth century. The rhythmic principle has no convenient term. Walker designates it as a " $\text{—} = \text{♩}, \cup = \text{♩}$ " rule which he admits is very clumsy, but it has the virtue of being self explanatory.<sup>1</sup> In setting vers mesurés to music according to this principle, the long syllables of the meters were set to long notes and the short ones to short notes, the long being exactly twice the value of the short. The proportion of 2:1 was consistently maintained, even when other note values were used:  $\text{♩} - \text{♩}$  or  $\text{○} - \text{♩}$ . However, the half-note/quarter-note values were by far the most common.

The stylistic principle was conveniently termed "syllabic homophony." According to this second principle every syllable of the text was sung simultaneously in all voices, although independent figurations were permitted from the beginning of one syllable to the beginning of the next.

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<sup>1</sup>D. P. Walker, "Some Aspects and Problems of Musique Mesurée à l'antique," in Musica Disciplina. IV (1950), 164.



There were exceptions to these rules however. For example, in the Chant à 3 (Ex. 1) from Le Jeune's Airs of 1608, the coloration which should be interpreted as a triplet,<sup>1</sup> changes the basic 2:1 proportion of the rhythmic principle to a 2/3:1/3 proportion.

### Chant à 3

Roy qui a-quiet à grans tra-vaux Fort ri-che païs et fort grans,  
 Roy qui a-quiet à grans tra-vaux Fort ri-che païs et fort grans,  
 Roy qui a-quiet à grans tra-vaux Fort ri-che païs et fort grans,

### Example 1. Le Jeune, Si folie était douleur<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, different note values for the — =  $\text{♩}$ ,  $\text{♪}$  =  $\text{♩}$  rule are sometimes found in the same verse line, as in this excerpt from Le Jeune's Le Printemps.

Ser - re-le, lâ - che-le, brû - le-le, gla - ce-le, fais en à ton gré,

### Example 2. Le Jeune, Dame ie viens fêr' homag' à ta beauté<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See below, pp. 94-95.

<sup>2</sup>Claude Le Jeune, Airs of 1608, ed. by D. P. Walker (4 vols., Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951), III, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup>Claude Le Jeune, Le Printemps, Vol. XIII of M. M. de la R. F., p. 76.



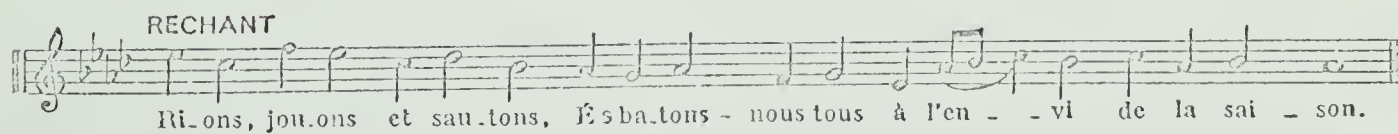
More radical departures from these two fundamental principles are found especially in the early musique mesurée of Fabrice, Lasso and de Courville; but since all of these are rare exceptions they will be discussed later. More important now is to examine these principles as seen in the vast majority of Le Jeune's and all of Mauduit's musique mesurée.

#### Application of the Rhythmic Principle

The result of a strict application of the  $\text{—} = \text{♩}, \text{v} = \text{♩}$  rule is a vocal line with a very irregular rhythm. This is so because composers of musique mesurée set vers mesurés to music according to their understanding of the sung meter, that is to say, meters contained a constant number of syllables, but resulted in an irregular quantitative scheme. For example, this réchant of Baïf,

v —    v —    v — —  
 Ri- ons jou- ons et sau- tons  
 v v —    v —    v — —    v v — —  
 Es- ta- bons- nous tous à l'en- vi de la sai- son.

was set to music by Mauduit in the following manner:



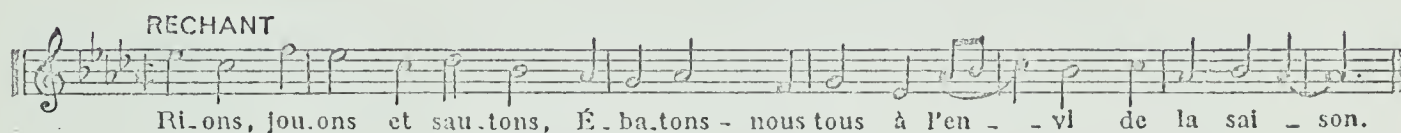
Example 3. Mauduit, Voici le verd et beau may<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jacques Mauduit, Chansonnettes mesurées de Jan-Antoine de Baïf, Vol. X of M.M. de la R.F., p. 18.



At first glance a passage with such regularly occurring syncopations seems unusual for sixteenth-century music. This becomes more apparent if we add the bar lines according to the time signatures (Example 4).



Example 4. Mauduit, Voici le verd et beau may

However, as P. M. Masson suggests, these measures with their syncopated movements

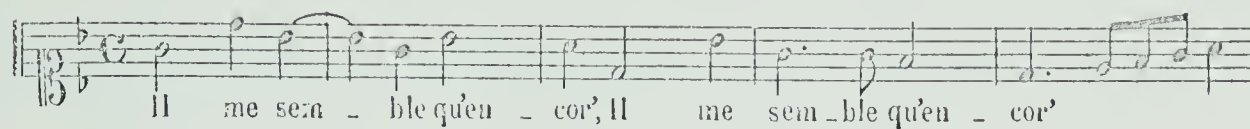
. . . sont chose fréquente dans la musique proportionnelle ordinaire. Mais voici où la différence s'accuse: dans la musique ordinaire, le rythme syncopé, contrebalancé par des rythmes différents, se trouve noyé dans l'ensemble; au contraire, dans la musique mesurée, le musicien doit conserver aux syllabes du vers, dans chaque partie vocale, la même valeur prosodique; il est donc amené à donner le même rythme à toutes les parties. La musique mesurée a donc un rythme d'ensemble nettement marqué et d'autant plus saisissant qu'il ne suit pas toujours passivement la mesure: c'est là son originalité essentielle. C'est ce qui frappa surtout les contemporains.<sup>1</sup>

In fact this alto part (Example 5) from Le Jeune's ordinary music, when isolated, appears practically as strange as the example by Mauduit.

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<sup>1</sup>Paul-Marie Masson, "L'Humanisme musical en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, La Musique mesurée à l'antique," in International Musical Society, Second Congress, Basel, 1906 (Leipzig, 1907), p. 179.





Example 5. Le Jeune. Le Chant du Rossignol<sup>1</sup>

But when restored within its original context, its rhythm appears less unusual (Example 6) and unsyncopated. What does make the ensemble of musique mesurée rather unusual and original as compared

Example 6. Le Jeune. Le Chant du Rossignol

to ordinary sixteenth-century music, is that its rhythm is reproduced simultaneously in all voices so that Mauduit's réchant (Example 3) becomes as follows (Example 7).

<sup>1</sup>Le Jeune, Le Printemps, Vol. XII of M.M. de la R.F., p. 111.



RECHANT

Ri-ons, jou-ons et sau-tons, É-ba-tons - nous tous à l'en - - vi de la sai - son.

Ri-ons, jou-ons et sau-tons, É-ba-tons - nous tous à l'en - - vi de la sai - son.

Ri-ons, jou-ons et sau-tons, É-ba-tons - nous tous à l'en - - vi de la sai - son.

Ri-ons, jou-ons et sau-tons, É-ba-tons - nous tous à l'en - - vi de la sai - son.



Example 7. Mauduit, Voici le verd et beau may

A number of problems arise however, from this rhythm, or at least from this curious un-barred notation. These rhythms for one thing very often do not fit within the ordinary framework of the bar-lines indicated by the time signature. If we take Mauduit's réchant (Example 3) and divide it into bars according to the time signature (Example 4) not only do we get an extremely irregular rhythm, but the last note does not end on a down beat, contrary to common sixteenth-century practices. In fact it does not end on a beat at all, let alone a downbeat or even an upbeat. According to P. M. Masson<sup>1</sup> this happens to more than twenty percent of musique mesurée. Walker agrees that this is true of Le Jeune's music but maintains that the percentage is much higher in Mauduit's and du Courroy's musique mesurée. What kind of rhythm therefore was indicated by this notation and how was it performed?

Walker, in attempting to answer this question, investigated whether Baïf and his musicians believed that classical meters had an ictus or plausus, that is a regular intensive beat. Although he arrived at no definite conclusions, his investigation reveals that Baïf and his school probably did not believe in an intensive beat or a regular rhythm.

<sup>1</sup>Masson, "L'humanisme musical," p. 176.



The next question that arises pertains to the interpretation of the time values of this notation. There are two possibilities: first, the rhythm could have been smoothed out by dividing the meter into bars and making these equal in duration by beating a duple rhythm and singing groups of  or  as triplets.<sup>1</sup> The second proposition is that the rhythm was exactly as written, the musical accents being free and falling at irregular intervals. Having discussed both possibilities Walker concludes that the time-values of this kind of notation were meant to be, and should be executed precisely as written.

This solution leads to another problem; the question of how these songs were conducted, if they were conducted at all. The first solution that comes to mind is to beat them according to the time signature. But this just adds to the problem, since, as we have seen, at least two out of five--perhaps more--of these irregular-rhythmed chansons mesurées cannot fit the beat pattern of the time signature without the last note arriving on a weak beat or a fraction of a beat. Furthermore, as Walker points out, while twenty-three of Mauduit's Chansonnettes have C or  $\text{C}\sharp$  as a time signature only one of them has a consistent duple meter throughout. In fact, most chansons mesurées of this type would become nonsensical if the performers in singing them were to be strictly guided by the time signature. This short passage from Le Jeune's Le Printemps will serve as an example.

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<sup>1</sup>This is the opinion of Vincent d'Indy and P. M. Masson. See Masson, "L'humanisme musicale," p. 177.



## REPRIZE à 3

The musical score consists of three staves, each with a different vocal part. The top staff is labeled 'Dessus.', the middle 'Haute-Contre.', and the bottom 'Taille.'. All three staves share the same lyrics: 'le l'ay, ie l'ay la bel - le fleur que m'as do - né,'. The music is written in a style typical of 16th-century French chansons, with a 3/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is simple and repetitive, with a clear triple rhythm indicated by the 'à 3' in the title.

Example 3. Le Jeune, Je l'ay, ie l'ay la belle fleur,<sup>1</sup>  
Reprize à 3

To perform this Reprize in duple time would clearly annihilate the obvious triple rhythm of this music.

It would seem therefore that in these chansons mesurées, the time signature is musically meaningless. Such a conclusion would be tenable if we were to believe that the time signature had the same meaning then, as it has today.

. . . Mais la mesure du 16<sup>e</sup> siècle était tout autre chose que la nôtre: c'était un simple cadre, à peu près indifférent à son contenu, une pure division de la durée, uniquement destinée à assurer l'ensemble des voix et à déterminer la vitesse de leurs mouvements. Elle n'exigeait pas que le rythme réel de la mélodie fut enfermé entre ses barrières imaginaires, et les notes pouvaient les enjambrer sans façon.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>M. M. de la R. F., XIII, 64.

<sup>2</sup>Masson, "L'humanisme musical," p. 176.



With this in mind, it seems easier to understand that possibly these chansons were not meant to be conducted according to the time signature. As Walker suggests, although the sixteenth-century performers were undoubtedly accustomed to accenting their own part quite independently of the beat, it would seem quite pointless for them to sing an iambic chanson mesurée<sup>1</sup> to a duple beat when they could have used a triple beat with much greater ease and musicality.

In analysing the way in which long pauses of isolated voices were written in musique mesurée, Walker puts forth a strong argument in favor of the  $\text{—} = \text{♩}$ ,  $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$  chansons mesurées not being performed to the duple beats indicated by the time signature.

In the sixteenth century, bars of silence were ordinarily written in the shortest way possible, as is still the practice today. Du Courroy, for example, indicates seven and a half bars of silence by writing this:



In most musique mesurée however, to indicate long pauses in individual voices, either no rests are written but the text is given (Example 9), or rests are written (with or without the text) in the rhythm of the voices that are not silent (Example 10).

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<sup>1</sup>See Le Jeune's "A l'aid', à l'aid, hélas," in Le Printemps, Vol. XIII of M. M. de la R. F., p. 113.




RECHANT A SIX. C L. L E I E V N E.



Abel' Aronde me fagere de la gaye faizon Est venu', ie l'ay veu', - Elle vole  
mouchelétes elle vole mouchérons. La vela ie la voy, ie recognoy le dos noir, ie l'y voy le ventre  
blanc qui l'y trehuit au soleil. La vela ie la voy, elle vole mouchelétes elle vole mouchérons.

Example 9. Claude Le Jeune, La bel' Aronde<sup>1</sup>



Mil - le dou - ceurs, mil - le bons motz, mil - le plai - sirs,  
Mil - le dou - ceurs, mil - le bons motz, mil - le plai - sirs,  
Mil - le dou - ceurs, mil - le bons motz, mil - le plai - sirs,

Example 10. Jacques Mauduit, A la fontaine<sup>2</sup>

Du Courroy does not always write tacets in this manner. In all his musique mesurée that is not homophonic he gives no text and

<sup>1</sup>Facsimile of the Taille reproduced by H. Expert in his edition of Le Printemps, M.M. de la R.F. XIII. No pagination.

<sup>2</sup>M.M. de la R.F. X, 30.



uses rests in the ordinary way. It is clear then that this musique mesurée must be beaten according to the time signature since the rhythm is not the same in all the voices.



These unusual ways of indicating tacets suggest that there was no ordinary beat by which the singer could count his rests. What then replaced it that could account for this curious way of indicating long pauses? Walker proposes two things. First: there was no regular beat at all; half-notes and quarter-notes alternated in groupings of twos and threes creating irregularity. Secondly: the beat corresponded to the smallest time value, not grouped into measures--quarter notes for  $\text{♩} - \text{♩}$  songs, half-notes for  $\text{♩} - \text{♩}$  ones, and so forth. Walker then gives reasons in support of each method and concludes that probably both were used. For present day performance he recommends the second method, at least until the singers have become familiar with these unusual rhythms. As for the accenting, it will be discussed later.

There are instances where it seems quite clear that some chansons mesurées, if not in their entirety, at least in part, should be conducted, and consequently, in many cases, accented according to the time signature,  $\text{C}$  or  $\text{♩}$ . This is based on two facts: the ordinary use of rests, and the occasional use of coleration in Le Jeune's music.

Rests in musique mesurée seemed to have been used either to make the meter fit the time signature or simply as punctuation. In Mauduit's and du Courroy's musique mesurée there seems to have been



no attempt to make a song end on a down beat, as demonstrated by the high percentage of the songs that do not end on a down beat. On the other hand, in Le Jeune's music, where rests are used more liberally, the proportion of songs that end on a down beat is much lower than in the chansons of the two previously mentioned composers. For that reason, Walker sees a possible attempt on the part of the composer to make the songs fit the time signature by means of these rests. It could be possible therefore, though quite improbable, that Le Jeune's chansons mesurées which are successful in doing this, were meant to be beaten according to the time signature. But in all other musique mesurée, the rests are to be regarded as punctuation only.

With regard to colored notes, in nine of Le Jeune's songs from the Airs of 1594, it would seem that they were used to smooth out the rhythm and make the song fit the time signature. This seems reasonable since it could be expected that Claude Le Jeune would have probably experimented with the two ways of setting vers mesurés: one according to the irregular rhythm imposed by the strict observance of the — = , u =  rule, the other with a levelled out rhythm by means of the triplet.<sup>1</sup> As for the colored notes in his other musique mesurée, Le Printemps and Pseaumes en vers mesurez, which were published posthumously, it would appear that, because of the inconsistent and aimless manner in which they are used, they would be the work of a reviser who had tried unsuccessfully to make the songs

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<sup>1</sup>For the interpretation of colored notes as triplets in musique mesurée see below, pp. 94-95.



fit their time signature. This proposition seems more likely when it is known that the texts of the Airs and the Pseaumes of 1608 had been altered by adding rhymes to the seemingly odd vers mesurés in order to make them more acceptable to the public. It may even be possible that the reviser of the text, La Noue, and perhaps D'Aubigné, might have also tampered with the music since both were amateur musicians.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusion to be drawn with regard to the notation and the interpretation of the  $\text{---} = \text{♩}$ ,  $\text{v} = \text{♩}$  chansons mesurées would perhaps be more clear if seen from two different points of view, one negative, the other positive. Negatively speaking, there is no metrical ictus, no regular rhythm or intensive beat. Apart from du Courroy's non-homophonic musique mesurée and perhaps some of Le Jeune's chansons which use ordinary rests and contain colored notes, no musique mesurée should be beaten or accented according to the time signature (the rhythm therefore should not be smoothed out by the use of triplets). In positive terms, the rhythmic notation of musique mesurée, with the exceptions mentioned above, should be executed precisely as written, using the quarter-note as a beat for practical present-day performances. As for the musical accentuation, it should be as light as possible.

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<sup>1</sup>See Augé-Chiquet, Baïf, pp. 406-408.



It was a fundamental principle of musique mesurée not to distort verbal or metrical rhythm, and French stresses, compared with English or German, are light and rare. Also, a modern musician accustomed to the rhythms of 18th and 19th century music, would be inclined to accent too often, too heavily, and too regularly.<sup>1</sup>

Bearing all of this in mind, and with the benefit of practical experiment, it would seem that a satisfactory manner of accenting and interpreting musique mesurée would be near at hand.

There remains to be considered the exceptional chansons mesurées that do not conform strictly with the  $\text{—} = \text{♩}, \text{v} = \text{♩}$  rule. These consist of one chanson by Lassus "Une puce j'ai de dans l'oreille," three by de Courville and three by Fabrice. These depart from the  $\text{—} = \text{♩}, \text{v} = \text{♩}$  rule in that any proportions may be used provided that a long is always longer than a short. This principle is but an extension of the previous one and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, it does not necessarily conflict with the humanistic theories on the imitation of ancient music.

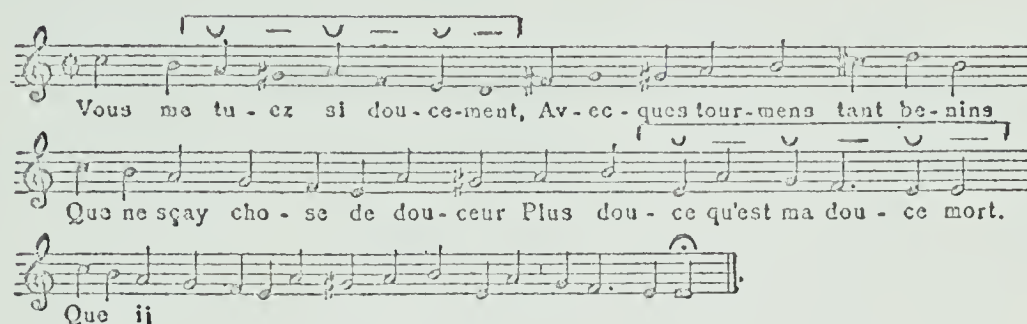
The interpretation of these early chansons mesurées will depend largely on whether or not these composers believed in a regular metrical rhythm based on ictus or plausus, and whether they attempted to smooth out the rhythm of their songs to make each fit its time signature. The answer to the first supposition seems negative, as can be seen from Fabrice's setting of Baïf's "Vous me tuez si doucement," where two identical metrical patterns--iambic

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<sup>1</sup>Walker, "Some Aspects and Problems," p. 181.



dimeters--are set quite differently (Example 11).















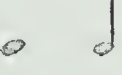


Example 11: Fabrice Caietain, "Vous me tuez si doucement."

Since in the last phrase the feet are not of equal length and the ictus does not always fall on a strong beat, two principles are implied: first, that Fabrice was not concerned with an ictus/plausus regular metrical rhythm; secondly, that since there was no classical evidence to prove that the iambic should correspond to a determined proportion of long and short, these differences of time values were presumably applied for purely musical reasons, that is, to produce an attractive rhythm that would fit into a duple measure according to the time signature. The rhythmic principle of Baïf and the early composers of musique mesurée would have been, therefore, that any time value might be used provided that the short is always shorter than the long.

There is no essential difference separating Lassus and de Courville from Fabrice, except that the two former do not use coloration.



Their proportions of long and short are either  to  or  to , while Fabrice also uses  to  and  to . This music is therefore intended to be executed according to the time signature.

Before leaving the subject of rhythm in musique mesurée, there is a problem of notation that is observed by Walker and which can be clarified as a result of more recent research. The problem arises from Fabrice's use of colored notes in duple time. In sixteenth-century music, groups such as  or  are usually treated as triplets. However, Walker suggests that from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, they might also have been executed as  or , since he notices that groups of  when they reappear in a repeated melody are sometimes notated as  or .

Collins has turned up interesting theories with regard to the problem raised by Walker.<sup>1</sup> Having defined "hemiolia" as the black notes in the proportion 3/2, he states that in binary measures:


: . . . the black breve loses one fourth its value, and the accompanying black semibreve loses one-half in order to fill the binary measure:  $C \text{ } \text{♩} \text{ } \text{♩} = \text{♩} \cdot \text{♩}$ .  
 The semibreve in imperfect prolation also loses one-fourth, while its accompanying minum loses one-half again to fill the remainder of the binary measure:  $C \text{ } \text{♩} \text{ } \text{♩} = \text{♩} \cdot \text{♩}$ .<sup>2</sup>




Later, in concluding his third chapter, he says:





<sup>1</sup>Michael Bruce Collins, The Performance of Coloration, Sesquialtera, and Hemiolia (1450-1750) (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1963).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 14:



. . . sesquialtera and hemiola represent two methods of notating a single ternary measure. However, hemiola [  ] is more frequently used for the notation of short passages. When either proportion appears in all voices of a composition a triple measure results . . . But when sesquialtera or hemiola appears in one or more but not in all the voices of a composition, the equal tactus of the remaining voices in binary measure prevails . . . Under no circumstances do sesquialtera and hemiola under equal tactus imply triplets.<sup>1</sup>

If these conclusions are granted, it may be said that Walker's conjectures were quite right although pervaded with uncertainty, and that a major point in the interpretation of musique mesurée has been clarified. Since all voices move in the same rhythm, all  in duple meter should be executed as a triplet. The only time that it could be executed as  or  would be in non-homophonic musique mesurée where it would not appear in all voices.

With regard to the specific examples given by Walker, the difficulty lies in that only the Superius and the Tenor of the two compositions by Fabrice are extant. Therefore in view of Collins' conclusion, it would be difficult to indicate with any certainty, how these were to be executed. As for Walker's third theory of interpretation of the  --that it could be sung as  instead of , or  --it also vanishes with the other uncertainties.







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

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 130-131.



### The application of the stylistic principle

Most musique mesurée was composed according to the principle of syllabic homophony, that is to say, each syllable is sung in all voices at the same time. However, here again there are a few exceptions which must be mentioned. These are found in the earlier chansons mesurées, where, as we have seen, the rhythmic principle is not always observed either.

In Lassus "Une puce j'ay de dans l'oreille" there is only one exception: while the contratenor sings  se -  cour  moy, the other voices sing  se -  cour  moy. In Fabrice's setting of the same text, there are rapid entries at the words "je cour de ça, je cour de là," undoubtedly an effort to illustrate the words. Apart from these exceptions all of Fabrice's and de Courville's musique mesurée adhere strictly to the homophonic principle.

Du Courroy's non-homophonic chansons mesurées seem more experimental in departing from the stylistic principle in question. There are seven of these songs,<sup>1</sup> three of which have entries at intervals of one beat or two beats, while in the four others, voices enter at half beat, one and a half, or two and a half beat intervals. In all of these however, with only one exception, the — = ,  =  principle is strictly observed so that all the voices sing

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<sup>1</sup>None of these has been reprinted, but they are contained in the appendix to Walker's Thesis.



the same rhythm but at a different time. The most adventurous of these songs, which largely incorporates in it the experiments made in the other six, is a dialogue à sept on Rapin's rhymed vers mesurés. Entries here vary from one to three quarter-notes apart. Voices overtake each other, come together again, then find themselves a half-note or a quarter-note apart. There is even pairing of voices at times. The overall effect on paper, according to Walker, "is ingenious and bewildering to the extreme. In practice, unless the listener were very familiar with the meters used, he would probably fail to notice that each part was singing the same rhythm."<sup>1</sup>

The composers who were most renowned for their musique mesurée, Jacques Mauduit and Claude Le Jeune, were also the ones who observed strictly in all their works--close to two hundred settings altogether--the principle of syllabic homophony. Yet their styles are contrastingly different. Mauduit seemed to have wanted to separate himself completely from the style of ordinary sixteenth-century music. He accepts quite willingly the limits and restrictions of these principles and rarely does he attempt to introduce in his music polyphonic devices practiced by his contemporaries. His lower parts lose all independence and become a very slightly decorated accompaniment to the melody in the superius. Du Courroy's homophonic chansons may be classified with Mauduit's in this respect.

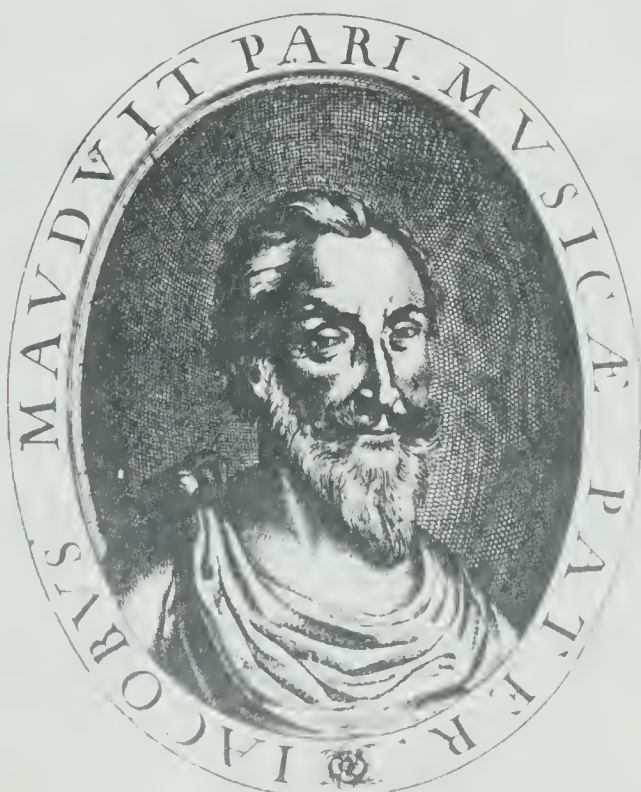
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<sup>1</sup>Walker, Thesis, p. 171.





Claude Le Jeune



Jacques Mauduit



Mauduit's harmony is always of the greatest simplicity.

Walker has found, in all of the twenty-three Chansonnettes, only four 4-3 suspensions and one other, a 7-6. They all occur within the limits of a long syllable, that is, a half-note, and they appear at cadences. Apart from these, all of the harmony consists of  $\frac{5}{3}$  and  $\frac{6}{3}$  chords, the former much more frequent than the latter.

The severity of his style is also notable for its lack of detailed expressiveness. Rarely does he underline musically, an idea, a word, or a phrase. This however, does not indicate a lack of ability. In the rare instances where he chooses to musically underline certain words of the text, as for example in the "fife and drum" psalm--Psalm CL: En son temple sacré--he demonstrates (Example 12), through his adroit use of figuration and his skillful combination of voices that, even within the limits of syllabic homophony, his expressiveness can match that of any sixteenth-century composer.



Louez Pa-vec le fi-fr'et tam-bour.

Louez l'a-vec le fi-fr'et tam-bour.

Example 12: Jacques Mauduit, En son temple sacré<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jacques Mauduit, Psaumes mesurés de Jan-Antoine de Baif, Vol. VII of Florilège du Concert Vocal de la Renaissance, (8 vols., New York: Broude Brothers, n.d.), p. 2.



This is a rare exception in Mauduit's style. Nevertheless, regardless of the austerity of his style, Mauduit expresses admirably the spirit of his text. This is best illustrated in his Chansonnettes where, through his skillful use of metrical rhythm and melody, he recreates the general mood of the text.

Mauduit's style therefore, embodies the simplest means of expression. His severe harmony, his lack of detailed expressiveness, and the general simplicity of his music, all point towards an influence derived from humanistic theories, combined with a faithful adherence to the principles of musique mesurée.

Claude Le Jeune was much more moderate than Mauduit. He too, undoubtedly, had been influenced by musical humanism, but as can be seen from the preface to Le Printemps<sup>1</sup> and the Dodecacorde, he intended to combine the qualities of ordinary sixteenth-century music with the principles of musique mesurée. In doing this, he succeeded in preserving the individuality of voices, thus keeping at his disposal polyphonic means of expression, and yet arriving at an audible text. His methods of achieving this varied.

A simple means of introducing variety in syllabic homophony was to use different combinations of voices for different verse lines or refrains. This means is used throughout Le Jeune's Le Printemps and the Pseaumes en vers mesurez.

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter III, p. 75.



A second device consisted of introducing figurations between the syllables in various voices. His clever use of this means assured rhythmic and melodic independence of individual voices yet avoided departure from the principles of syllabic homophony. The following passage from Le Printemps is an illustration.

### REPRISE à 5

The musical score is for a five-part setting. The voices are labeled on the left: Dessus, Cinquième (Second Dessus), Haute-Contre, Taille, and Basse-Contre. The lyrics are written below the staves: 'O Roze reyne des fleurs,'. The music is in a single system with a common time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values and beaming, particularly in the lower voices, which suggests a more complex rhythm than the written notation.

Example 13. Le Jeune, O Roze reyne des fleurs<sup>1</sup>

Such elaborate figurations in all voices however were rather exceptional, though a lighter figuration was commonly used throughout his musique mesurée, especially when he wished to emphasize melodic and harmonic sequences as in the following example, also taken from Le Printemps.

<sup>1</sup>M. M. de la R. F., XII, 83.



*Dessus*  
le la voy de loin, Et ie l'ai - me fort,

*Cinquiesme*  
le la voy de loin, Et ie l'ai - me fort,

*Taille*  
le la voy de loin, Et ie l'ai - me fort,

le la veu cuil - lir Et la main i'y tens,

le la veu cuil - lir Et la main i'y tens,

le la veu cuil - lir Et la main i'y tens,

Example 14. Le Jeune, D'une coline m'y proumenant<sup>1</sup>

The use of figuration also provided Le Jeune with another means of creating variety. Effective results were obtained by contrasting heavily figured passages in two or three voices against a full choir in strict homophony. These varied and rich figurations, however, seldom contained imitation. A florid and somewhat imitative passage from the Airs of 1608 is perhaps an exception.

<sup>1</sup>M. M. de la R. F., XIV, 93-94.



s'est de la ro- - se a - pro - ché.

s'est de la ro - se a - pro - ché.

s'est de la ro- - se a - pro - ché.

Example 15, Claude Le Jeune, Un bien non debatu<sup>1</sup>

Le Jeune used two other devices to introduce polyphonic effects into syllabic homophony. In several instances short and rapid entries gave a fugal impression. The imitation is not always exact and does not last for more than a few notes (Example 16).

*Dessus*  
Ser - re-le, lâ - che-le, brû - le-le, gla - ce-le, fais en a ton gré,

*Cinquiesme*  
Ser - re-le, lâ - che-le, brû - le-le, gla - ce-le, fais en a ton gré,

*Haute-Contre.*  
Lâ - che-le, brû - le-le, gla - ce-le, fais en a ton gré,

*Taille.*  
Ser - re-le, lâ - che-le, brû - le-le, gla - ce-le, fais en à ton gré,

*Basse-Contre.*  
Gla - ce-le, fais en à ton gré,

Example 16. Claude Le Jeune, Dame ie viens fér' homag'à ta beauté<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Claude Le Jeune, Airs of 1608, ed. by D. P. Walker, (Rome: American Musicological Institute, 1951), I, 19.

<sup>2</sup>M. M. de la R. F., XIII, 77.



Perhaps more important and significant is the way by which he obtains thematic unity. With but one exception in the psalm settings, the repeated subject is a paraphrase of a plain chant psalm tune. It appears throughout the setting in different voices, and with various combinations of voices. The thematic material, especially in sections à 2 or à 3, is usually heard against elaborate ornamentation in the other voices. (Example 17). This produces a striking contrast against plain four or five-part homophony, and it is often effective in expressing a change of mood in the text. This example from his Pseames en vers mesurez will serve as an illustration.

The image displays a musical score for three voices, likely Soprano, Alto, and Bass, arranged in three systems. Each system consists of a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The vocal lines feature a plainchant subject, 'Ain - si que brus - que'moutons bon - dit lors maint coupeau des mons:', which is repeated across the systems. The basso continuo lines provide an ornate accompaniment, with the third system showing more complex rhythmic patterns and ornaments. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and ornaments, all set against a background of horizontal lines representing the staves.



Les cos - taus, come agneaus, ain - si sail - li - rent à bons

Les cos - taus, come agneaus, ain - si sail - li - rent à bons.

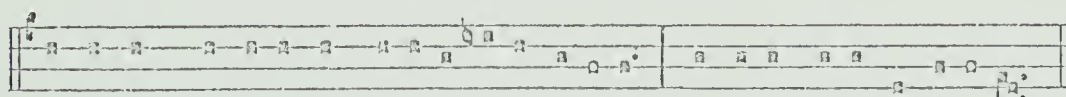
Les cos - taus, come agneaus, ain - si sail - li - rent à bons.

Example 17. Claude Le Jeune, Psalm 114, Quand pour Egipte<sup>1</sup>

Since each voice at one time or another sang thematic material, a polyphonic effect was obtained.

Example 17 also provides a musical illustration of the words "brusque'moutons bondit." The running of the sheep and the bouncing of mountain tops are effectively painted by the descending and ascending eighth-notes and by the repeated major and minor thirds on the word "bondit." These word painting devices however, are rare

<sup>1</sup>M. M. de la R. F., XXII, 4-5. Le Jeune borrowed for thematic material, the plain chant tune, Tonus Peregrinus, of the same psalm 114, which is sung at Vespers in the Catholic Liturgy. Liber Usualis, p. 254.



.Fácta est Judaé-a sancti-ficá-ti-o é- jus. \* Isra-el potéstas é- jus.



in Le Jeune's music, probably for the same reason that they appear even less frequently in Mauduit's. Nevertheless, Le Jeune achieves an overall expressiveness in his music which conveys not only the general mood of the text, but also the changes of moods. This is in keeping with humanistic theories which were described in the previous chapter.

Compared to Mauduit's, Le Jeune's music has a somewhat more polyphonic character. But it is more similar to Mauduit's than to any of the other ordinary sixteenth-century music. Both composers were undoubtedly influenced by humanism, abiding faithfully to the principles of musique mesurée. Their differences might arise from different humanistic ideas about music, but it is more probably, as Walker suggests, that it was the result of individual, temperamental and artistic differences. Le Jeune, a professional musician, with much richer means of expression at his disposal, would tend to be less influenced by preconceived ideas and theories while Mauduit, an amateur, would be guided and to some extent controlled by the principles and theories of his art.



## CHAPTER V

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MUSIQUE MESURÉE

Stylistic developments of sixteenth-century French vocal music were reviewed in Chapter One. Musique mesurée stood out as a remarkable phenomenon of musical humanism. What has been its relation to these developments, and what was its influence on the general development of music as a whole? With respect to these two points, other questions may be asked. For example, was musique mesurée an outgrowth of sixteenth-century stylistic developments? Did musique mesurée influence any of these styles? What other influence if any, did musique mesurée exert in France or abroad with respect to the general development of music? For most of these questions a definite and final answer has not as yet been found. There are several reasons for this which will become apparent as we discuss the various influences of musique mesurée.

#### The Influences in France

Since 1940 several musicologists have examined the question of the influence of musique mesurée on the air and the air de cour. Three periods of possible influence may be drawn. The first period was during the time when Baïf's Academy was in full operation, that is from 1570 to 1585. The second period extended throughout the rest of the century, from 1585 to 1600. The third period runs from 1600 to about 1630.



In 1954 Kenneth J. Levy published a study entitled "Vaudeville, vers mesurés et airs de cour,"<sup>1</sup> which encompasses the first and second periods. In this study he points out the contrasting differences between the style of the air before 1550 and that of the late sixteenth century. In the first instance it was considered an inferior form of expression deeply rooted in folk art.<sup>2</sup> In the last decades of the century it had become the most important secular musical form in France under the name of air de cour. In enumerating the reasons for this drastic change Levy suggests that the most important was the influence of Baïf's humanistic movement. He believed that when Baïf combined "le style homophonique, déjà bien établi, avec un vers français sans rime (vers mesurés). . . , de manière à produire ce qu'on appela la musique mesurée,"<sup>3</sup> then the vaudeville was transformed through a direct influence, into a style which was later called air de cour.

Walker however is more cautious. He suggests that

Toute l'histoire du style rythmique de la musique mesurée et de son influence possible sur la musique ordinaire est à refaire, et c'est évidemment à M. Levy d'entreprendre cette tâche. Voici les raisons de cette affirmation:

1. Jusqu'ici personne n'a étudié le style de l'air français avant l'Académie et pendant ses premières années;

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<sup>1</sup>In Musique et poésie au XVIe siècle, ed. by Jean Jacquot (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954), pp. 183-201.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter I, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Levy, "Vaudeville," p. 195.



donc on ne sait pas dans quelle mesure le style de la musique mesurée s'en écarte ou s'en rapproche.

2. Puisque, faute de documents, nous ne savons rien du style des premières chansons mesurées (c'est-à-dire celles de 1570, 1580), il faut envisager la possibilité d'une évolution du style qui serait conditionnée autant par celui de l'air français ordinaire que par les vues théoriques (humanistes) de Baïf et de ses collaborateurs.<sup>1</sup>

As far as is known no one has yet traced the history of the development of the air before 1570, as Walker suggests should be done. Furthermore, no other sources of musique mesurée have been uncovered. Therefore, since the style of the air before 1570 is uncertain, and since the early musique mesurée (1570-1580) is practically unknown because of lack of documents, it is difficult to ascertain how closely the style of the air between 1570 and 1585 resembled that of musique mesurée of the same period. It is consequently difficult to determine precisely what influence one had on the other. Until the situation is clarified through research and better documentation, the interrelation and mutual influence of musique mesurée of this early period with the styles of ordinary music which surrounded it will remain uncertain.

There is only one clear example of direct influence of musique mesurée on composers of this period; it is that of Fabrice Caitain who admits that he was influenced by de Courville and Beaulieu in the writing of his airs.<sup>2</sup>



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<sup>1</sup>These comments were expressed during a discussion following the reading of Dr. Levy's paper. See Levy, "Vaudeville," p. 201.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter II, pp. 58-59.



With regard to the air de cour which belongs to the second and third period of influence, Masson, early in the twentieth century, stated that: "La musique mesurée à l'antique aboutit à l'air de cour."<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to grasp precisely what he meant by this for he offers no explanation of his statement. Gérold, who later studied the airs de cour in more detail, regards this statement as an exaggeration.<sup>2</sup> He maintains that musique mesurée had greatly influenced the airs de cour, particularly during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

In 1948 Walker re-examined the influences of musique mesurée on the air de cour, but he was more reserved about the whole question. He saw this influence as "a very likely conjecture, but it is not a proven fact, as musicologists seem to suppose . . ."<sup>3</sup> He agrees with Gérold that in some airs de cour, the lack of regular beat and the tendency to set each syllable with one or two time values, usually  or , are signs of a "conscious, intelligent imitation of musique mesurée." Yet at the closing of his article he states:

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<sup>1</sup>Masson, "L'humanisme musical," p. 182.

<sup>2</sup>Theodore Gérold, L'Art du Chant en France au XVIIe siècle (Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1921), p. 25.

<sup>3</sup>D. P. Walker, "The Influence of musique mesurée à l'antique, particularly on the airs de cour of the Early Seventeenth Century," in Musica Disciplina II (1948), 141.



It must again be emphasized that these signs are by no means a certain indication of this influence and may well be due to quite other causes. Moreover, until the problems of interpretation raised by the notation of musique mesurée and the airs de cour are fully solved, that is, until we know more exactly what their rhythm was when performed, all discussions on the subject of this article must run the risk of being founded on wrongly interpreted documents.<sup>1</sup>

This caution with regard to the influence of musique mesurée was re-iterated in 1961 by André Verchaly. Addressing the Eighth Congress of the International Musicological Society, in New York, he stated that the whole question of influence of musique mesurée "should be re-examined, for many points remain unclear."<sup>2</sup> More specifically he says:

Il semble que les conclusions auxquelles se sont arrêtées les musicologues pour la période 1570-1600 ne soient que provisoires. Il faudrait étudier de près la rythmique et la comparer avec celle des quelques soixante-six pièces de "musique mesurée" publiées avant 1600, en se gardant d'admettre a priori, comme on a trop tendance à le faire, la supériorité de la prosodie de la "musique mesurée à l'antique" sur celle des airs de Le Blanc, P. Bonnet, G. Tessier, C. Tessier, Cerveau . . . etc. L'idée d'appliquer à un texte poétique que l'on met en musique des valeurs de durée variables selon les longues et les brèves n'était pas nouvelle . . .

Des musiciens comme Janequin, Passereau, Sermisy respectèrent la plupart du temps les syllabes longues, l'expression musicale les soutenait. Leur prosodie était bonne.<sup>3</sup>

In the passages quoted from Walker and Verchaly, both

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>2</sup>André Verchaly, "La métrique et le rythme musical au temps de l'humanisme," in International Musicological Society, Report of the Eighth Congress, New York, 1961, ed. by Jan La Rue (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1961), I, 67.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 71.



authors touch upon a point which reveals another problem in determining the influence of musique mesurée on late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century music. Musique mesurée was undoubtedly the highest manifestation of humanistic influence on poetry and music during the French Renaissance. But it is known that humanism also influenced the setting of ordinary music to texts throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> For that reason it is sometimes difficult to estimate if certain features<sup>2</sup> in the air de cour for example, reflect an influence of musique mesurée or of other humanistic sources, or if they are not the result of a natural aesthetic tendency.<sup>3</sup>

It appears, therefore, from what has been said, that the influence of musique mesurée on the air of the late sixteenth century and the air de cour of the early seventeenth century awaits further research to discover its true manifestation.

In Chapter II it has been shown that the activities of Baïf's Academy extended to the fêtes of the Court of France. There remains to be examined what influence these activities, along with musique mesurée, had on the ballet de cour.

Unlike the air de cour, the history of the ballet de cour has been explored and documented. According to Prunières, Baïf's

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter I, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> For example, irregular rhythm, the setting of longer syllables to long note values and vice versa; syllabic homophony.

<sup>3</sup> See Walker, The Music Review II, 4, 305.



movement corresponded precisely with a turning point in the evolution of the masquerade.<sup>1</sup> By comparing three different events, Prunières traces this evolution which leads to the ballet de cour. The first landmark in the development of the ballet de cour was a masquerade designed by Baïf himself which was performed in 1565. The second is the Paradis d'Amour performed in 1572. The plan of this performance resembles that of the third event, the Ballet comique de la Reine, which he considers to have been the first ballet de cour, performed in 1581. The progressive introduction of classical characters (sirens and satyrs), of récits and dialogues, of fixed settings in which a dramatic action begins to evolve around a common plot, all point, according to Prunières, to the influence of humanism. Much of this influence came from Baïf's movement for Prunières says,

si l'on ne peut attribuer aux poètes humanistes de la Cour, et en particulier à Jean Antoine de Baïf, la création du ballet dramatique, c'est néanmoins à leur influence et à leurs théories sur le théâtre et la danse de l'Antiquité qu'il faut en faire revenir l'honneur.<sup>2</sup>

Because the music is lost, it is impossible to verify the influence of musique mesurée on the second event, the Paradis d'Amour. The music of the Ballet comique, on the other hand, was published in 1582 along with the complete text of the ballet, and it has survived. The music was composed by Gilbert de Beaulieu,

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<sup>1</sup> Ballet de Cour, pp. 58-94.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 57.



assisted by one of the king's musicians. The poems were written by a Sieur de la Chesnaye.

D. P. Walker has analysed this music in relation to musique mesurée. These are his findings:

In the homophonic songs of the Balet de la Royné all parts always sing each syllable simultaneously. Each syllable is worth  $\text{♩}$  or  $\text{♪}$  (or  $\text{♩}$  or  $\text{♪}$ ); no other values are used and rhythmic variety is obtained by splitting  $\text{♩}$  into  $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$  or  $\text{♪}$ .  $\text{♩}$  etc. Indeed, except that they lack a regular poetic meter, these songs are undistinguishable from musique mesurée. Unfortunately there is no certain external evidence connecting the Balet with Baïf's movement. There are, however a few indications, which combined with the internal evidence just given, justify the supposition that the peculiar style of these songs is due to this influence.<sup>1</sup>

The "few indications" which he mentions have since multiplied and have crystallized into a strong argument in favor of the influence of musique mesurée on the music of the Ballet comique. This is apparent in a study published by Frances Yates in 1954.<sup>2</sup>

Yates begins her study by listing various known facts which indicate that Baïf and the members of the Academy probably collaborated in the works performed during these festivities.<sup>3</sup> Amongst these she mentions Artus Thomas' story about the effects produced by Le Jeune's musique mesurée during a rehearsal for these celebrations.<sup>4</sup> She also mentions a more definite proof that Le

<sup>1</sup>Walker, "Influences," p. 146.

<sup>2</sup>Frances A. Yates, "Poésie et musique dans les 'Magnificences' au mariage du duc de Joyeuse, Paris, 1581." in Musique et poésie au XVIe siècle. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1954), pp. 241-264.

<sup>3</sup>It is noteworthy that the Ballet comique de la Reine, which was performed in October of 1581, was but one manifestation amongst many which took place during the celebrations in honor of the marriage of the Duc de Joyeuse, which lasted for over two weeks.

<sup>4</sup>See above, p. 67.





PLATE IV. Ballet comique de la Reine, 1581.



Jeune collaborated in these festivities. This proof is based on documents published by Walker and Lesure which indicate that Le Jeune received payments for composing some music for this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

The originality of her study rests on the use she made of the program which described the events that were to take place during the "magnificences." By comparing the description of certain activities in which the King was involved, with the texts of some of Le Jeune's musique mesurée, she has shown that at least three songs contained in Le Jeune's Airs of 1608<sup>2</sup> were undoubtedly composed especially for these events by Le Jeune on Baïf's vers mesurés.

C'est pourquoi il me semble qu'il n'est pratiquement pas douteux que le morceau "La Guerre de Claude Le Jeune" dans les Airs de 1608 représente--quoique sous une forme modifiée ou revue en ce qui concerne les paroles de Baïf--la musique écrite par Le Jeune sur les vers mesurés de Baïf pour la "bande du Roi" à l'occasion du tournoi dont j'ai cité la description d'après le programme. Il serait même possible de spécifier le passage qui produisit de si puissants "effets" sur le gentilhomme qui l'entendit à la répétition; c'était, sans doute, le moment où la musique module du combat le plus féroce à "Rendez-vous tous mes loyaux penses doux."<sup>3</sup>

Later, Yates explains that if the Ballet comique de la Reine was not written in pure musique mesurée, it was not because the King (Henri III) did not encourage the Academy, nor because the musicians of the Academy were not asked to take part in preparing these events.

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<sup>1</sup>Walker and Lesure, "Claude Le Jeune," pp. 169-170.

<sup>2</sup>Claude Le Jeune, Airs of 1608, ed. cit., No. 12 p. 40, No. 23, p. 87; No. 24, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup>Yates, "Poésie et musique," p.245.



L'impression selon laquelle Baïf et l'Académie n'étaient pas protégés au même degré par Henri III que par Charles IX, et ne s'intéressaient pas aux fêtes du mariage de Joyeuse, était largement fondée sur le fait que le Ballet comique de la Reine n'est pas en pure musique mesurée. Cette impression est entièrement effacée si nous avons prouvé que le roi utilisa l'association Baïf-Le Jeune pour son propre rôle dans deux des divertissements, et pour l'important Epithalame, que probablement il commanda lui-même--donnant ainsi un puissant appui royal à la musique de l'Académie. Le Ballet comique fut commandé par la reine, Louise de Lorraine, et les musiciens et poètes qu'elle employait--Beaulieu et La Chesnaye--reflétaient son goût, ou peut-être ce dont elle était obligée de se contenter, le roi ayant monopolisé pour son usage le meilleur musicien--Le Jeune--et son associé-poète en vers et musique mesurés--Baïf.<sup>1</sup>

If Yates' predications are accepted then there is no doubt that the musicians of the Academy took part in these events and that musique mesurée directly influenced the music of the Ballet comique de la Reine.

### Influence in Italy

Earlier in this century, Henry Prunières found a possible influence of musique mesurée in Italian music of the early seventeenth century. This discovery has given rise to a highly controversial issue.

In the year 1607, in Venice, Monteverdi published his Scherzi musicali a tre voci. At the back of this publication was a polemic letter by his younger brother, Giulio Cesare, intended for Artusi, who had ardently criticized Monteverdi's music. In this

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 248.



letter Giulio Cesare says,

I inform him that, if the matter has to be considered in this light, my brother will have not a few arguments in his favor, in particular the canto alla francese in the modern manner that has been a matter of marvel for the three or four years since it was published and which he has applied, now to motets, now to madrigals, now to canzonets and airs. Who before him brought this to Italy until he returned from the baths of Spa in the year 1599? Who before him began to apply it to Latin words and to words in our vulgar tongue? Has he not now composed his Scherzi?<sup>1</sup>

According to Leo Schrade, this passage has been the most controversial in the literature on Monteverdi. The problem consists in determining what precisely is meant by "canto alla francese in the modern manner," and what influence it had, if any, on the Scherzi musicali. The scholars and historians who have stated their opinion on this matter can be divided into two groups: those who believe that canto alla francese means musique mesurée, and the ones who maintain that canto alla francese means something other than musique mesurée. Members of the former group are generally of the opinion that musique mesurée influenced the Scherzi musicali, while those of the latter are more hesitant in this matter.

Prunières was the first to report that Monteverdi, during his trip to Flanders, had discovered the music of Baïf's Academy. His assumption was based primarily on the rhythm of several of the Scherzi:

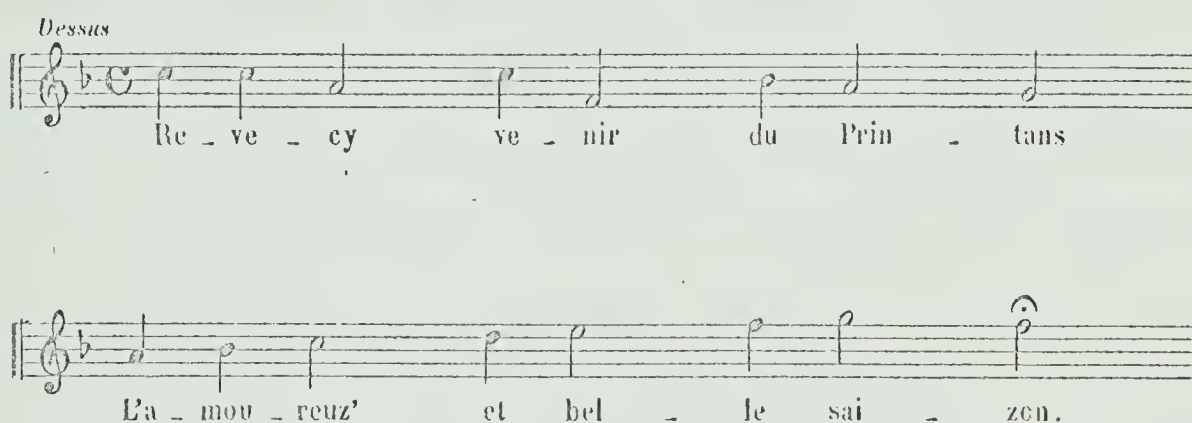
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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Oliver Strunk, ed., Source Readings in Music History, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950), p. 411.



If, indeed, one takes the pains to score the Scherzi musicali without dividing the melody into bars, placing the verses one below the other, it will be recognized that these songs were composed on metric plans in the same way as the chansonnettes of Baïf set to music by Claude Le Jeune, Du Courroy or Mauduit.<sup>1</sup>

He then compares a section of Le Jeune's musique mesurée with one of the Scherzi. (Examples 1 and 2).



Example 1. Le Jeune, Revecy venir du Printemps<sup>2</sup>

Example 2 shows three staves of music. The first staff is labeled 'mf' and the second staff is labeled 'p'. The lyrics are: 'Da - mi - gel - la Tut - ta bel - la Ver - sa ver - sa quel bel vi - no' and 'Da - mi - gel - la Tut - ta bel - la Ver - sa ver - sa quel bel vi - no'.

Example 2. Monteverdi, Damigella tutta bella.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Henry Prunières, Monteverdi: His Life and Work, trans., by M. D. Mackie, (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1926), p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>M. M. de la R. F., XII, 11.

<sup>3</sup>Tutte le Opere di Claudio Monteverdi, ed. by Francesco G. Malipiero (Asolo, 1926-67), X, 40.



Prunières, however, clearly states that Monteverdi did not attempt to compose airs on Italian measured poetry, although much of it existed. Rather, like many French composers, he deduced from the general rhythm of the verse a metrical formula to which he adapted the melody.

As a part of his argument Prunières also takes into account the harmonic structure of the Scherzi. In fact, he believes that, until his trip to Flanders, Monteverdi had concentrated his efforts on melody and harmony to obtain certain effects, and had somewhat neglected rhythm. His contact with the French humanistic music, musique mesurée, had awakened in him new "rhythmic intensities" and he was inspired by them in his Scherzi musicali. It is for this reason that, in keeping with the practices of the French composers of musique mesurée, the counterpoint is syllabic, there is no imitation and the use of dissonances, false relations and chromaticisms are extremely rare. Monteverdi seems to be particularly concerned with "rhythmic precision and grace."

Assuming that canto alla francese means a manner of singing with full voice, a style which Monteverdi also discovered in Flanders, Prunières nevertheless maintains that he probably also heard some airs de cour and vaudevilles. But did these have any influence on the Scherzi musicali?



The influence of the airs de cour appears in certain madrigals alla francese of Monteverdi's last period, but I think it is possible to perceive it in certain accents, in certain turns of melodic phrases of the Scherzi musicali.<sup>1</sup>

In brief, Prunières' position stands as follows: Monteverdi, during his trip to Flanders, came into contact with musique mesurée, airs de cour and vaudevilles. He was strongly impressed by them and brought back from Flanders a "truly original manner of composition" which influenced him directly in his composing of the Scherzi musicali and of later madrigals and a motet alla francese.

A number of other scholars have adopted Prunières' theory with regard to the Scherzi musicali. Bukofzer, for example, states, the strong rhythmic character of these compositions points toward the French chanson; the rigidly maintained verse patterns may be a reflection of the vers mesurés with which Monteverdi came in contact during his stay in France.<sup>2</sup>

Although this statement seems shaded with a reservation towards Prunières' position, Bukofzer makes himself quite clear later on:

The French musique mesurée . . . exerted a far reaching influence not only on French Baroque music, but even on the Italian canzonetta of Monteverdi.<sup>3</sup>

Endorsing even more explicitly Prunières' position is Charles van der Borren:

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Prunières, Monteverdi, p. 17

<sup>2</sup>Manfred F. Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1947), p. 39.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 141.



Indeed, according to the plausible theory of Henry Prunières, the canto alla francese which inspired Monteverdi to write his Scherzi musicali of 1607, was none other than this musique mesurée à l'antique, of Le Jeune, Mauduit, and du Courroy.<sup>1</sup>

In the other group of scholars who disagree with Henry Prunières' views, stands the prominent scholar, Leo Schrade, who in his biography of Monteverdi, devotes an entire chapter to this particular problem.<sup>2</sup>

After having stated Prunières' theory, he proceeds to disagree with him on various points. First, he exploits the improbability of Monteverdi having studied the publications of musique mesurée--little had been published at that time--in Spa or in Brussels, concluding that there is no evidence for or against such a hypothesis. Then he declares that he does not share Prunières' view concerning the meaning of questo modo moderno. For him, this new style is not the musique mesurée of the Academicians. He gives two reasons to support his argument:

First: The measured music, composed in close accordance with the principles of the old Academy of 1570, was no longer a "modern" manner of composing when Giulio Cesare wrote the defense of his brother . . . The French musique mesurée was of importance only within the circle where it originated and had no effect on the international musical situation.

The second reason is that the rhythmic order of Monteverdi's Scherzi musicali is not derived from the text

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<sup>1</sup>"The French Chanson" in the New Oxford History of Music, ed. by G. Abraham, Vol. IV (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>Monteverdi Creator of Modern Music, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950).



as are the rhythms of the French music . . . His [Monteverdi's] rhythmic patters are outgrowths of the dance song; they are the patterns of Gastoldi's Balletti and the rhythms Orazio Vecchi chose for some of his nature songs.<sup>1</sup>

Pursuing his argument, he concludes that it could not have been the rhythmic organization that Giulio Cesare had in mind when he spoke of the canto alla francese in questo modo moderno. What then, did he have in mind?.

Understanding the word canto as a verb, and not as a noun (in which case it could refer to canzona, chanson, or canzonetta), Schrade interprets Giulio Cesare's statement as referring to a special manner of performing rather than to any particular "musical category." He bases his argument on Giulio Cesare's remark that the canto alla francese, in its modern form, "can be found in music set to motets, madrigals, canzonette, arias." Furthermore Monteverdi himself used the term in this sense in his later compositions. Therefore, concludes Schrade, there "can no longer be any doubt about the implications of Giulio Cesare's remarks."

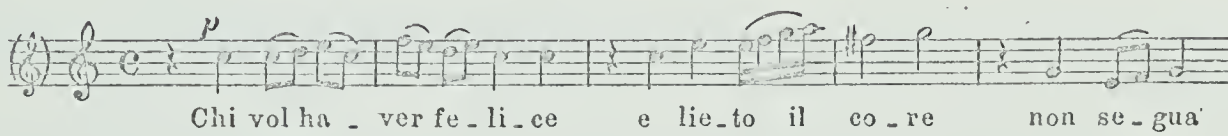
The later works which Schrade refers to are two madrigals from the eighth book, the Madrigali Guerrieri et Amorosi of 1638, namely: Dolcissimo uscignolo and Chi vol haver felice. Both madrigals have the explanatory remark "cantato a voce piena, alla francese," cantato being a form of the verb cantare. The third

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 173.



example is the third version of the motet, Confitebor tibi Domine, which appeared in the collection Selva Morale of 1640. This Confitebor terzo alla francese has no similar directions for performance but is intended to be sung as the madrigals. Significantly, it is not only in five-parts with continuo like the previous motets, but it uses as well material from the madrigal Chi vol haver felice (Example 4).

Canto 

Chi vol ha - ver fe - li - ce e lie - to il co - re non se - gua'

il crudo a - mo - re Chi vol ha - ver fe - li - ce e lie - to il

Chi vol ha - ver fe - li - ce e lie - to il

Chi vol ha - ver fe - li - ce e lie - to il

Chi vol ha - ver fe - li - ce e lie - to il

Example 3. Monteverdi, Chi vol haver felice<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Tutte le opere, ed. cit., VIII, 280.



Solo

Soprano I

Con-fi-te-bor ti-bi Do-mi-ne in to-to cor-de  
me-o: in con-ci-li-o ius-to-rum et con-gre-ga-ti-o

TUTTI

-ne. Con-fi-te-bor ti-bi Do-mi-ne in to-to cor-de me-o:  
Con-fi-te-bor ti-bi Do-mi-ne in to-to cor-de me-o:  
Con-fi-te-bor ti-bi Do-mi-ne in to-to cor-de me-o:  
Con-fi-te-bor ti-bi Do-mi-ne in to-to cor-de me-o:  
Con-fi-te-bor ti-bi Do-mi-ne in to-to cor-de me-o:

Example 4. Monteverdi, Confitebor tibi Domine<sup>1</sup>

According to Schrade, therefore, canto alla francese refers to "a manner of performance, perhaps to a particular structural arrangement connected with the performance, but not to a specific category."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., XV, 352.

<sup>2</sup> Schrade, Monteverdi, p. 175.



Admittedly, this "structural arrangement" is derived from the Airs de cour, and Schrade agrees that they had an influence on the motet and the madrigals discussed above, but he does not agree with Prunières that Monteverdi brought this influence back with him on his return from Spa:

Pierre Guédron's Airs de cour for four and five parts appeared from 1602 on. Since Monteverdi transplanted the technique literally, he was familiar with this form of the air de cour . . . These French airs were popular after Monteverdi's return from Flanders . . . <sup>1</sup>

The technique which he speaks about is the specifically French form of alternating structure, whereby a verse or a phrase having been presented by a solo in the highest voice, is then repeated in full chorus with the phrase retained in the highest part, but harmonized by the other voices. This technique is common to the motet and the madrigals alla francese (Examples 3 and 4).

With regard to the Scherzi musicali, Schrade points out appropriately that, contrary to what has always been assumed, the rhetorical question: "Has he not now composed these Scherzi?", in the Dichiaratione, does not necessarily link the Scherzi with the canto. However, he mentions that certain features of the Scherzi seem related to the special structural arrangement referred to above. This is based on Monteverdi's avvertimenti prefacing the Scherzi. Finally, because of the affinity of musical material between certain Scherzi, and also because of the function of the ritornello,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 177.



Schrade sees the possibility of both French and airs de cour influences, "but of this we are not at all sure."

Schrade's position, therefore, stands as follows:

Monteverdi did not bring back from his trip to Spa musique mesurée; he did not bring back any particular musical category, but a manner of performance, and possibly a special structural arrangement related to performance, which he has applied to religious and secular music. Furthermore, there is not necessarily a link between the Scherzi musicali and the canto alla francese. However, two French influences on the Scherzi musicali remain possible.

H. F. Redlich, the German biographer, mentions the problem with which we are concerned: "The Scherzi of 1607 already betray the influence of the French Ballet de cour." His position with regard to this problem is not clear; he seems to stand half-way between Prunières' and Schrade's position.

The choral madrigals alla francese, which came into being under the unmistakable influence of Pierre Guédron, may be regarded as the creative echo of the impressions gained by Monteverdi when he accompanied Vincenzo on his journey to Flanders in 1599.<sup>1</sup>

It remains to be seen what he meant by "creative echo."

Denis Arnold, who wrote a biography of Monteverdi, specifically warns at the outset of his book that he "deliberately avoided marshalling all the arguments about such matters as the authenticity

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<sup>1</sup>Hans Ferdinand Redlich, Claudio Monteverdi: Life and Works, trans. by Kathleen Dale, (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 89.



of Il ritorno d'Ulisse and the meaning of canto alla francese."<sup>1</sup>

However, about Scherzi musicali he states,

To relate these slight trios to musique mesurée and French academic ideas is to take these songs too seriously. They belong to an Italian tradition--a Mantuan tradition even. They are the natural successors of Gastoldi's balletti.<sup>2</sup>

In this respect, he shares Schrade's opinion.

It is obvious that the masters in this controversy are Prunières and Schrade. Their positions however, need to be examined more closely.

In support of his thesis, Schrade has advanced two arguments: one with respect to musique mesurée, the other with regard to the rhythmic aspect of the Scherzi musicali. These two points invite comment.

With reference to the first, Schrade argued that musique mesurée was "no longer a 'modern' manner of composing . . . it was of importance only within the circle where it originated and had no effect on the international situation."<sup>3</sup>

As reassuring as this argument may seem, it nevertheless rests on uncertain grounds. Musique mesurée might not have been a modern manner of composition if it were to be considered from its

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<sup>1</sup>Denis Arnold, Monteverdi, (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy Inc., 1963), Preface, p. v.

<sup>2</sup>Op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>3</sup>Schrade, Monteverdi, p. 173.



date of origin. The fact is, however, that it became known and en vogue at the beginning of the seventeenth century and could very well have been considered a "modern" (in the sense of "new") manner of composing at that time. As Walker suggests,

It is, however, likely that musique mesurée was an important influence in the general change from predominantly fugal to a predominantly monodic or homophonic style. This change . . . reached its climax at the beginning of the next century [17th], when in France, as in England and Italy, large quantities of lute-songs began to appear . . . Since the vogue of musique mesurée occurred at this critical time . . . but chiefly owing to its homophonic texture, musique mesurée slipped [sic] into its place in the general development of musical language and became capable of being a source of later styles.<sup>1</sup>

At any rate, to generalize and exclude this possibility of influence is unwise.

As a second premise, Schrade sets out to demonstrate that the rhythmic resemblance between Claude Le Jeune's Revey venir du Printemps and Monteverdi's Damigella tutta bella is only artificial. "Le Jeune arrives at the rhythm by strict adherence to the short and long syllables of the text. Monteverdi, however, chooses one of the favorite native dance patterns . . . "<sup>2</sup>

This argument is sound and convincing, but unhappily it misses the point. Prunières, in making the comparison, did not attempt to show that Monteverdi derived his rhythm from the meter of

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<sup>1</sup>Walker, "The Influence," pp. 143-144.

<sup>2</sup>Schrade, Monteverdi, p. 174.



the text in the manner that Claude Le Jeune did. In fact, he states that Monteverdi "did not attempt to compose airs to Italian poetry written in antique meters . . ."<sup>1</sup> Further on, he says, "the Scherzi are constructed on preconceived rhythmic plans."<sup>2</sup> What he is trying to demonstrate is a musical affinity between these rhythmic plans, an affinity which could indicate an influence on Monteverdi. At this point Schrade and Prunières share a common argument with the exception that Prunières believes that Monteverdi chose the rhythmic pattern of this chanson mesurée instead of a native dance pattern for his Damigella tutta bella.

Prunières' interpretation of canto alla francese as meaning musique mesurée is based on a smilarity of rhythmic patterns between some chansons mesurées and several Scherzi. But he also claims that many of the Scherzi are sans mesure réglée, that like musique mesurée, they have no regular beat. Walker disagrees:

In fact most of them have an extremely obvious one; he [Prunières] can only point to several airs which change frequently from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to  $\frac{6}{8}$ . This alternation between two kinds of triple  $\frac{4}{8}$  rhythm is foreign to musique mesurée, but quite common in other 16th century music.<sup>3</sup>

Prunières also maintains that the harmony of the Scherzi

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<sup>1</sup>Prunières, Monteverdi, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>3</sup>Walker, "The Influence," p. 149.



is like that of musique mesurée. He advances his argument so far as to say that "of fifteen Scherzi, thirteen are in G major, one in D minor and one in C major."<sup>1</sup> Walker replies:

This is quite true, but it proves the exact opposite of his contention, since all the composers of musique mesurée were extremely conservative in their harmony and only wrote in the major when, occasionally, they used the 11th or 12th ecclesiastical modes.<sup>2</sup>

One final point is to be made with regard to the relationship between canto alla francese and the Scherzi musicali. Schrade has the merit of questioning the traditionally accepted assumption that "non fece questi scherzi all'hora?" links the Scherzi to the canto. He sees this question as rhetorical--one that does not necessarily bind these two together. If his opinion is correct, the chances of musique mesurée having influenced the Scherzi musicali would be that much more remote. Schrade does not pursue the question any further.

It appears therefore from what has been said that the controversy as to whether or not musique mesurée has influenced Monteverdi's Scherzi musicali, has not yet been resolved. Prunières' theory, which favors a positive solution, seems to fade away in the light of more recent research; but some of his views have not been disproven. Schrade presents strong arguments that point towards a

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<sup>1</sup>Henri Prunières, "Monteverdi and French Music," in The Sackbut, III, 4 (November, 1922), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Walker, "The Influence," p. 149.



negative answer to this question, but in challenging some of Prunières' views, he weakens his thesis, which otherwise would be quite convincing.

### Influence in England

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century Baïf's movement had its counterpart in England, though on a much smaller scale and with less ambitious aims. As Carpenter explains,

no formal "academies" were established in England, but British poets were much under the influence of the Pléiade--especially Sidney and Spenser. Perhaps Gabriel Harvey's Areopagus group at Cambridge, to which both these young poets belonged, was the nearest approach to the academy for the discussion of music and verse. One of the prime interests of the Areopagus writers was the ancient quantitative meters and the possibility of basing English verse upon these meters.<sup>1</sup>

Thompson reports that in October of 1579 Spencer wrote to Harvey that Sidney and his fellow-poet Dyer had "prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English sillables for English verse."<sup>2</sup> Spencer would have been attracted to their experiments which were discussed in the Areopagus group. Few examples of such English "vers mesurés" have survived: several of Spencer's and Sidney's poems and two brief translations from the Classics.

Perhaps the English humanistic poet whose practice came

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<sup>1</sup>N. C. Carpenter, Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 346.

<sup>2</sup>John Thompson, The Founding of English Meter (New York: Columbia University Press 1961; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 129.



closest to Baïf's in writing measured poetry and music was Thomas Campion. He was also connected with the Areopagus group.

Representing in himself a Greek ideal--the combination of poet and musician--Campion's ars poetica (Observations in the Art of English Poesy) [1602] shows his interest in the abolition of rhyme, the adaptation of classical meters to English poetry, and the close interdependence of text and musical setting. This last--for which he was highly acclaimed by his contemporaries--had much to do with the success of his own airs. As he himself says in the preface to a volume of his songs, "In these English Ayres I haue chiefly aymed to couple my Words and Notes louingly together."<sup>1</sup>

The whole movement however was without much effect or influence. As Thompson says, "it is generally understood that the entire project had its epitaph in Samuel David's A Deffence of Ryme (1603)."<sup>2</sup>

The question that immediately comes to mind is: "What influence did musique mesurée have on this English movement?" According to Pattison, Ronsard was a friend of the Earl of Leicester, Sidney's uncle. Consequently in 1572, when Sidney visited Paris, he "must have met the French poet and have known of the Académie de Musique et de Poésie."<sup>3</sup> Pattison also sees a "relic" of the French Académie in a portion of Sidney's Arcadia in which the author explains how the poets introduced measure into poetry "so that every semi-breif or mynom had its syllables matched accordingly with a long foote and a short foote . . . "<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Charpenter, Renaissance Universities, p. 346.

<sup>2</sup>Thompson, English Meter, p. 129.

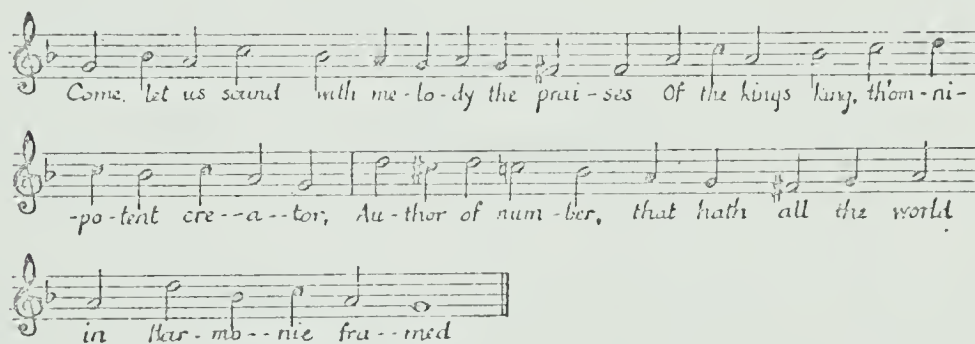
<sup>3</sup>Bruce Pattison, Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1948), p. 62.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 64.



Perhaps the best place to look for the influence of musique mesurée would be in Champion's works. Pattison mentions that the English poet's views on quantitative meters "owed something to Baïf." In commenting on Champion's discussion of quantitative verse in the latter's Observations in the Art of English Poesie (1602), Pattison says,

It is curious that, having started to time verses and got very near to a perception of the equality of time in feet of different patterns, he should have been deflected into a discussion of feet in terms of the classical longs and shorts. The greater variety of consonant groups in English should have warned him that there were many classes of long and half-long syllables . . . But his classical training blinded him, and his one published experiment in quantitative meter set to music is marred by following the example of the French neo-classicists and restricting himself to two time values. The meter he chose for his experiment was sapphic.<sup>1</sup>

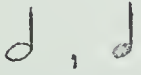


Example 5. Thomas Campion, Come let us sound<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Pattison, Music and Poetry, pp. 141-142.

<sup>2</sup>In Songs from Rosseter's Book of Airs, 1601. trans. and ed. by H. Fellowes, (London: Stainer & Bell Ltd., 1932), II, 77.



This example seems to be the only published setting to music of quantitative English meter. How closely it reflects the influence of musique mesurée is difficult to estimate. The use of  values only, the absence of a time signature, and an irregular beat are all elements common to musique mesurée. The influence could have come directly from France through Sidney, but it is more likely an indirect one stemming from the French air de cour. It is known that Charles Tessier, the French lutanist and composer of airs de cour resided in London in 1597 and set to music several of Sidney's poems. Nevertheless, these observations have not been proven. Pattison suggests with regard to the Areopagus group, "how far they tried to justify quantitative meters by setting them to music, as the French Académie did, is a matter for conjecture."<sup>1</sup>

In general terms therefore, it can be said that the whole matter of the influence of musique mesurée on contemporary sixteenth and early seventeenth-century styles remains uncertain. With the exception of the ballet de cour and perhaps that of the air de cour the influences of musique mesurée on Monteverdi and Thomas Campion, on the English Areopagus group and on the general development of music, are for the most part conjectural and await more conclusive evidence through further research and improved documentation.

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<sup>1</sup>Pattison, Music and Poetry, p. 62.



## CONCLUSION

Jean Antoine de Baïf, in initiating the movement of vers mesurés and musique mesurée, was probably influenced by some of his predecessors, but the main source of his encouragement and influence resided with his colleagues in La Pléiade.

The Académie de poésie et de musique which he founded with Thibault de Courville in 1570 functioned successfully for fifteen years under the continued protection of Charles IX and Henri III. The aims of the Academy, which included the fostering of vers mesurés and musique mesurée also extended to the teaching of other subjects of higher learning. Though the most ambitious objectives of the Academy were probably not achieved, it seems that such activities as regular performances of musique mesurée, experiments with the genera, the composing of ballets mesurés and musical dramas based on the Classics, had all been attempted. Amongst the most prominent musicians of the Academy were Guillaume Costeley, Thibault de Courville, Gilbert Beaulieu, Jacques Mauduit and Claude Le Jeune.

The humanistic theories on which Baïf's movement was based were derived from the firm belief in the effects of ancient music, which had been obtained by closely joining together poetry and music. These effects were believed possible in contemporary music by reviving the proper use of the modes, by the correct use of the enharmonic and chromatic genera and, most important, by completely subjecting



music to text in a style that would be highly expressive of it, obscuring neither its rhythm nor its intelligibility.

Baïf and his musicians derived from these theories several principles which they applied in the writing of musique mesurée. Despite these restrictive principles Claude Le Jeune and Jacques Mauduit succeeded in composing highly expressive and artistic music.

Certain influences of musique mesurée are apparent in the ballet de cour and perhaps also in some airs de cour. However, with regard to Monteverdi's Scherzi musicali and some works of Thomas Campion and the Areopagus, the influence of musique mesurée remains uncertain and awaits further investigation.

A final question remains to be considered. "What fate befell musique mesurée?" It is known that musique mesurée endured well into the seventeenth century and enjoyed a period of popularity which can be verified by the frequent posthumous re-editions and reprints of Le Jeune's musique mesurée. However, after 1620 the enthusiasm of the first decade had begun to decline and by 1630 Agrippa D'Aubigné wrote, "ce genre d'escrir [les vers mesurés] est gousté de fort peu de gens."<sup>1</sup> (This kind of writing [vers mesurés] is appreciated by very few people). Although he obviously refers to vers mesurés it stands to reason that his statement also applies to musique mesurée since composers could not write the latter without the former.

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<sup>1</sup>Petites oeuvres meslées. (Geneva, 1630), p. 126.



Many reasons have been proposed to explain the short-lived success of vers mesurés and musique mesurée. Two poets contemporary with Baïf at the turn of the century had already analysed the failure of Baïf's vers mesurés. D'Aubigné, who had written some vers mesurés, explained that Baïf wished to innovate too much at one time--versification and orthography. Rapin, who wrote rhymed vers mesurés, imputes Baïf's nonsuccess to the prejudice of the public. Sainte Marthe on the other hand maintains that not enough of his vers mesurés had been published.

Augé-Chiquet claims that the demise of Baïf's vers mesurés can partially be explained by the fact that "pour les faire agréer plus facilement au public, on les a 'ornés' de rimes. Les vers mesurés n'étaient pas excellents, les vers rimés sont détestables."<sup>1</sup> Most writers however, including Augé-Chiquet, maintain that quantitative meters in French are impossible, and that Baïf's vers mesurés were bound to be unsuccessful. Verchaly suggests,

L'unique tentative vraiment humaniste, de conception trop intellectuelle--elle était l'oeuvre de savants et de théoriciens littéraires--ne portait-elle pas en soi ce qui devait fatalement la conduire à un échec: vers blancs qui ne sont pas harmonieux, qui ne peuvent être lus et qui réclament la musique; disposition arbitraire des longues et des brèves au mépris des nuances subtiles de l'accentuation?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Baïf, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup>"La métrique et le rythme," p. 68.



It would seem therefore that vers mesurés are chiefly responsible for the short life span of musique mesurée. So much so that Walker believes that musique mesurée was successful at the beginning of the seventeenth century in spite of vers mesurés; in fact he states that after Baïf's death in 1589, vers mesurés "remained as dead as he was."<sup>1</sup> It was the unusually irregular "rythme d'ensemble" reproduced simultaneously in all voices--because of syllabic homophony--that constituted the originality of musique mesurée and that impressed the contemporaries.<sup>2</sup> This seems credible, for as Yates mentions,

What the "effect" of this novel and exciting performance may have been upon passionate and tender souls, with ears and minds uncorrupted by the thousand deadening influences of a mechanised world, we can hardly imagine.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to all these reasons, it might be said that in general terms, the style of musique mesurée after 1620, was not in keeping with the stylistic currents in vogue at the Court of France. It is known that through the influence of the Florentine Camerata--Caccini stayed in France from 1604 to 1610--the new trend was towards the récits and accompanied airs which evolved around the ballet mélodramatique. Thus because of the poets' neglect of vers mesurés, and with the coming of a new stylistic evolution

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<sup>1</sup>Walker, Thesis, p. 91

<sup>2</sup>Masson, "Le mouvement humaniste," p. 1307.

<sup>3</sup>French Academies, p. 57.



which was to lead to the ballet dramatique and the opera, musique mesurée, after having left its imprint on the airs de cour and the ballet de cour, seceded and passed into history.



## APPENDIX

### THE PREFACE TO CLAUDE LE JEUNE'S

#### LE PRINTEMPS

"The ancients who have treated of Music have divided it into two parts, Harmony and Rhythm: the one consisting in the proportional assembling of low and high pitched sounds, the other in short and long time. Harmony was so little known to them that they only permitted themselves the consonances of the octave, the quinte, and the quarte: with which they composed a certain accord on the Lyre, to the sound of which they chanted their verses. Rhythm, on the other hand, was brought by them to such perfection, that they produced marvellous effects by it: moving thereby the souls of men to such passions as they would: and this they have represented to us under the fables of Orpheus and of Amphion, who tamed the courage of the wildest bests and animated wood and stones, making them move and place themselves where they wished. Since their time, Rhythm has been so neglected that she has been quite lost, whilst Harmony for the last two hundred years has been so exactly sought out that she has been made perfect, producing beautiful and grand effects, but not such as those which antiquity recounts. Which has caused astonishment to many, seeing that the ancients sang with one voice only, whereas we have the melody of several voices together. Some (perhaps) have discovered the cause of this:



but no one was found to remedy it until Claudin Le Jeune appeared, who was the first to be bold enough to draw poor Rhythm out of the tomb where she had lain so long and to join her to Harmony. Which he has done so happily and with such art that he has brought our music to a perfection which will cause it to be followed by more admirers than imitators, making it not only equal to that of the ancients, but much more excellent and more capable of beautiful effects since it makes audible the body married to the soul, which till then had been separated. For Harmony along with its agreeable consonances may well arrest the admiration of the most subtle spirits: but Rhythm coming to animate these consonances, may also animate, move, and draw whither it wishes by the gentle violence of its regulated movements all souls, however gross and rude they may be. The proof of which will be seen in the measured songs of this Printemps!"



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